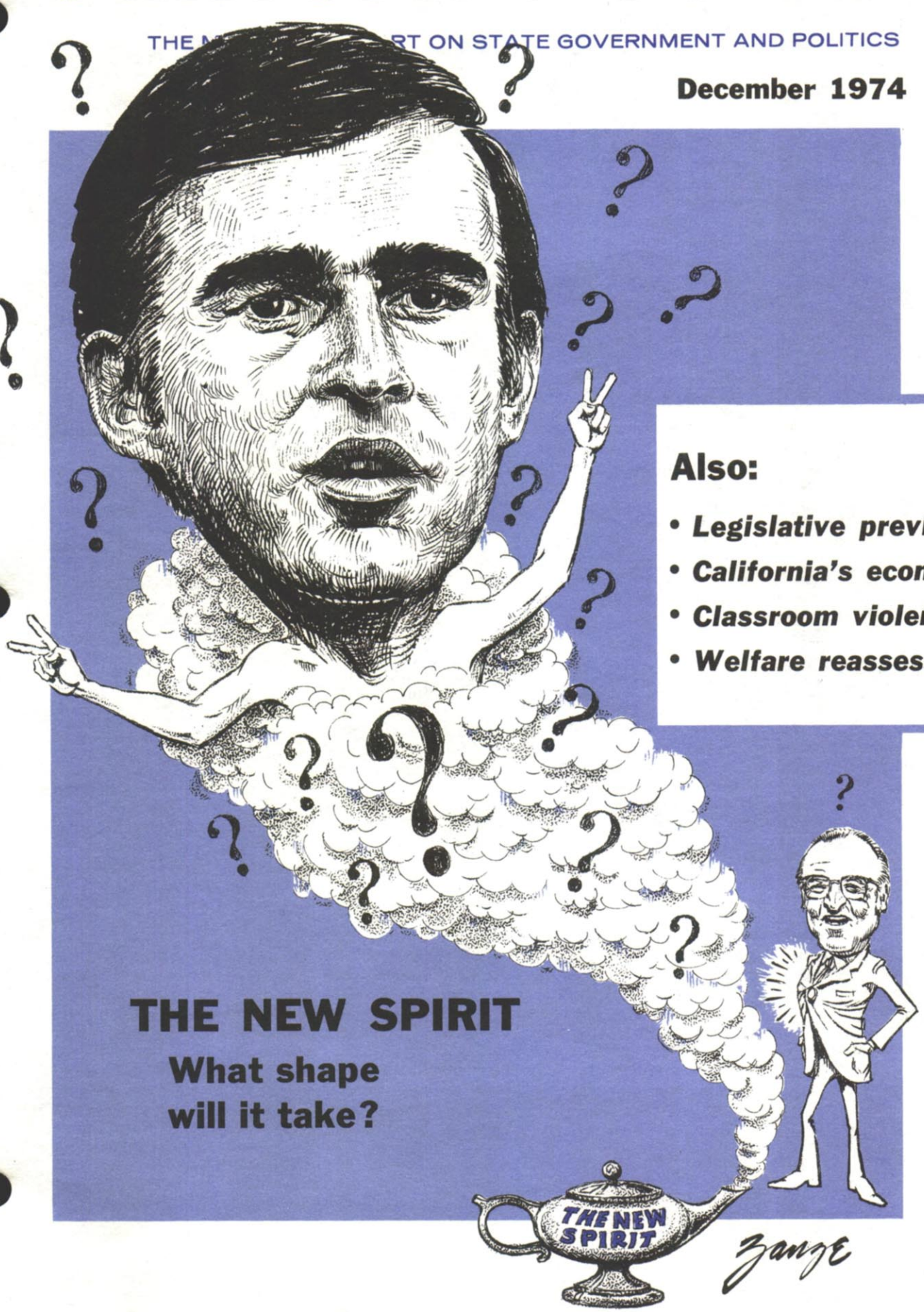
California Journal

THE M[illegible]RT ON STATE GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS

December 1974



THE NEW SPIRIT

What shape will it take?

Also:

- *Legislative preview*
- *California's economy*
- *Classroom violence*
- *Welfare reassessment*

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A PERSONAL PERSPECTIVE...

By Ed Salzman

Politics' endangered species

The long, boring campaign for governor was finally over. Jerry Brown had just completed the traditional flying tour of major California cities, and those of us who had made the trip on a 44-seat propeller plane were joining him for a beer and talking about such fascinating subjects as the Latin equivalent of "do your own thing". But occasionally a serious subject involving the governing of California did crop up, including one of the most perplexing problems facing state officials throughout the nation — what to do about the demands for prison reform.

Brown himself has come to the conclusion that there is little sense in continuing the myth that adult felons can be rehabilitated. He feels that rehabilitation should be emphasized when youngsters first hit the crime cycle — as juveniles — and that straight punishment should be dished out for adult convicts. But that is just a general theory. The issue is much more complex than that, and there is the most immediate problem of keeping the prisons cool and preventing an Attica at San Quentin or Soledad. The next governor revealed that two men on the plane — close friend Tony Kline and San Francisco Sheriff Richard Hongisto — were working on details of his prison reform program. But even if Hongisto and Kline come up with a proposed reform, who will administer the program?

* * *

Here is where Brown pulled a surprise: He likes the work of Ray Procunier, the Reagan administration's director of corrections, a man who has been under fire from those who feel the prison system is either too tough or too lenient. "Pro" has indicated that he intends to quit at the end of the year after eight grueling years keeping the lid on the explosive system. Brown has been impressed with Procunier's coolness under fire. He feels that Pro, a career employee in the Department of Corrections, could do an even better job in an administration that agrees with him that the indeterminate sentence (and its assumption that felons should be rehabilitated before release) should be scrapped.

Procunier will probably be one of the few executives of the outgoing Republican administration who could remain in office. (If Procunier decides to leave, Brown could make a bold choice for a successor in John Charles Houlihan, former mayor of Oakland, who recently received a pardon for an offense growing out of his law practice. Houlihan, now head of the Institute for Local Self-Government, knows the prison system from the inside and is a classic case of a parolee who has made a sensational return to Establishment society.)

* * *

During the final days of the campaign, Brown said repeatedly that there would be a house-cleaning in Sacramento after he takes office. That is the normal course of events. Why would a liberal Democratic governor want to retain any of the aides of a Republican conservative governor? But this practice ignores the fact that every administration produces outstanding administrators who are lost to public service as a result of sheer partisanship. That Brown is considering the possibility of keeping Procunier on the job is unusual. But what about these others in the Reagan administration who have done superb jobs? To cite two examples:

- Reagan's executive assistant, **Ed Meese,** has shown an incredible capacity for calmly keeping the complex machinery of government running smoothly. Sure, he's a Reagan partisan, and no one could expect him to be kept in his present position. But what a terrific administrator he would make of some massive and complex agency of state government not involved with conservative-versus-liberal politics.

- For many years, there was a feeling of mutual distrust between the state Department of Finance and the Legislature, with the department really a propaganda arm of the governor's office. This status continued through the early years of the Reagan administration under Gordon Paul Smith and Cap Weinberger. Then Reagan made one of his best decisions: He put low-key **Verne Orr,** a former car-dealer from Pasadena, of all things, into the job. Orr took a new, refreshing look at the finance directorship, and started telling the Legislature the truth, even when it hurt. In difficult negotiations with University of California officials, Orr was able to cut budget requests while retaining good personal relations. True, he was still the Governor's man and he backed Reagan at every turn. But he didn't try to hide budgetary figures that were adverse, and his briefings on appropriations and revenues were unprecedented for their clarity and lack of strident partisanship. A man like Verne Orr should not automatically be cast out of government. His breed of public servant is an endangered species.

And there are undoubtedly others on the lower levels of the Reagan administration who should not be sent into the job market just because they are Republicans and politics has always worked that way. Anyone who has watched state government operate for a decade or so through both Republican and Democratic administrations inevitably concludes that remarkably few people have the talent to be superb administrators in state government. Most are either too political, too ambitious, too publicity-conscious or too dumb to provide the kind of leadership needed to solve the problems of the state (as opposed to the political problems of the chief executive).

Some means should be found to keep talent like Procunier, Meese and Orr in California government.

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Californians gave the Democrats the legislative majority and the Democratic governor they said they needed to get done all the things they couldn't get done while Republican Ronald Reagan wielded his invincible blue pencil in the corner office. The question now is: Are there too many Democrats to get the job done? Journal Editor Ed Salzman examines the election results from a number of angles:

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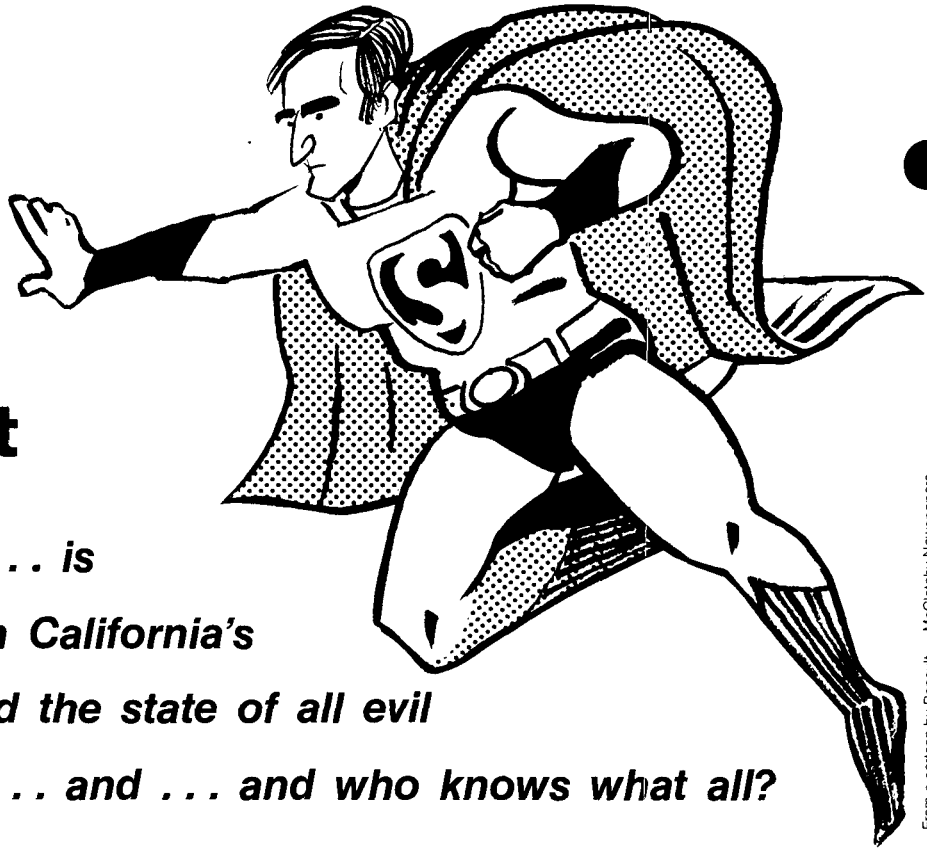

The New Spirit

(alias Jerry Brown) . . . is about to descend on California's Capital City . . . to rid the state of all evil in his path . . . and . . . and . . . and who knows what all?

By Ed Salzman

At every stop on the campaign trail, Governor-elect Edmund G. (Jerry) Brown Jr. would plead with the electorate to send a "new spirit" to Sacramento so that state government would be used for the benefit of the many rather than the privileged few. It was little wonder then that some members of the traveling press corps – and even Brown's staff – started calling the candidate The Spirit. When a newcomer joined the campaign caravan, reporters like John Kern of the San Diego Tribune *and Otto Kreisher of the San Diego* Union *(both Copley-owned papers supported Republican Houston I. Flournoy) would make sure that all ramifications of the nickname became known: Brown's campaign theme, they explained, was only the superficial explanation; even more important was the fact that Brown often was spirited away for private meetings (usually with major donors, his staff or women friends) out of sight of press and public. And, most important, they would say, was the fact that, while Brown put himself on record generally about issues, his stands would dissolve in wisps before attempts to deal in details.*

Avoiding commitments

On January 6, 1975, at the age of 36, Jerry Brown will assume the job his father held for eight years, and he will do so remarkably free of debt — either to individuals in the form of campaign contributions or to the public in the shape of campaign promises. He was in the comfortable position of being able to turn down campaign contributions from organizations he didn't like. (A top campaign aide estimated that Brown rejected $150,000.) The governor-elect is so open about appointments to state posts that he is forming a commission to seek out and screen likely appointees. He took firm stands on a few issues but remains wide open on most of the major measures that will be facing the Legislature and his administration. When Brown met with Governor Reagan to discuss the change of command, Reagan asked him: "What are you going to substitute for jelly beans?" Only partially in jest, Brown replied: "I'm trying to avoid commitments."

Brown started the campaign with such a big lead that he felt his best strategy was to avoid making enemies by taking many strong specific stands. He was so confident as the race came to a close that he diverted resources to the united Democratic campaign. If he had expected the tight race that developed, he might have bought more television time at the end to maximize the potency of his "new spirit" message or to take another tack.

Because Brown made so few commitments during the campaign and as secretary of state (other than those to election and lobbying reform), it is hard to judge what kind of governor he will be. Had Flournoy won, predictions would be much easier; a Flournoy administration would have been quiet, thoughtful, slow, relatively unimaginative — something like the Eisenhower presidency. A Brown forecast is all the more difficult because of the complexity of the man.

Some affirmative statements can be made about the new governor: He is hard-working, intellectual, aggressive, at times abrasive, tough, and politically shrewd. Unlike Flournoy, he cannot be characterized as "Mr. Nice Guy." Because of these characteristics, it can be assumed that Brown will either be an excellent governor or a poor one. He is not given to mediocrity; he's too much of an activist for that. But how will he act on specific state problems? That's where the complexity of his character makes prediction almost impossible. He is at once a liberal and a conservative, a pragmatist and an idealist. Examples:

Conservative: Brown adopted almost a Reagan line

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on welfare and on state spending. He favors sure and speedy punishment for violators of the law.

Liberal: He opposes capital punishment, favors liberalization of marijuana and sex laws, wants to put government to work harder solving problems.

Idealist: Brown took a few stands during the campaign — capital punishment and public-employee right to strike — that he knew might cost him votes.

Pragmatist: His campaign took the public pulse weekly and many of his actions are based on what will help advance his political career.

The triumvirate

The new administration's first job is to fill the numerous executive positions in state government. Brown owes remarkably few jobs. He has two extremely close coworkers in Tom Quinn and Richard Maullin, smart young political toughs who with Brown form a triumvirate. But Brown himself makes most of the major decisions. Although organized labor backed Brown, the new governor does not feel he owes the AFL-CIO a great deal. Labor will get those jobs in state government — labor commissioner, industrial relations — that normally go to union people in Democratic administrations. Brown concedes only that he has a warm spot in his heart for two unions, the cannery workers and the auto workers.

Aside from Quinn and Maullin, there are others who worked in Brown's campaign and in the secretary of state's office who will undoubtedly shift to the governor's office. But the appointments commission will face a massive task screening appointments and attempting to get a good sprinkling of women and minorities in key positions. Brown himself reported that during the campaign he was deluged with applicants for only two jobs — the Fish and Game Commission and the state Horseracing Board. One of the key decisions he must make is what to do about defeated Democratic candidates for governor who are being touted for high administration posts — Bob Moretti and Bill Roth, for example. Moretti would like to be resources secretary, and Roth would be a candidate for finance director. Another possibility is Congressman Jerome Waldie, at one time a particular favorite of Brown's father. (Pat Brown, incidentally, probably will serve as sort of a senior advisor, but Jerry Brown has made it abundantly clear that he is no rubber stamp — for his father or anyone else.)

While the precise form of the New Spirit may be in doubt, it definitely does not resemble the Old Pro — Pat Brown. Jerry Brown is very much a private person, a reader of philosophy and poetry, a reformer of the political process, a tough decision-maker. Pat Brown was a glad-handing, old-style San Francisco politician who still revels in public ceremony. He was hardly an intellectual or a reformer.

Love, marriage and mansions

Jerry Brown is probably closer in style and substance to his mother than to his father. In fact, one of his heroes was his mother's late father, Captain Arthur Layne of the San Francisco Police Department, a cop who remained scrupulously honest during rampant corruption in the city where Jerry was born. While Jerry Brown likes privacy, he also likes the freedom to be himself. While Flournoy was closely guarded by security men throughout the campaign, Brown shunned guards until they were virtually thrust upon him. Now, he will have to learn to live with a security force. But he swears he will maintain the freedom to take a walk on the beach when the spirit moves him.

During the campaign, Flournoy made much of the fact that he is a married man with children and Brown is a bachelor. To the barber-shop crowd, this was taken as an inference that Jerry Brown was maybe a homosexual. It was a problem that had no political solution for Brown short of a hasty marriage, but to those who traveled with him and saw him slip away with women friends such a notion appeared groundless.

Brown's bachelorhood will solve one problem: He will be able to live in the old mansion in the heart of Sacramento without great difficulty. Ronald Reagan found the old Victorian unfit for family habitation and moved to a tree-shaded affluent neighborhood, leaving the mansion to become a museum whose last inhabitants were the Browns. Now, a $1.3 million governor's mansion is being built in the suburb of Carmichael, and Brown says he certainly will not live in it. He considers the new mansion too opulent in these days of economic distress.

Fleshing out the spirit

Those who worked with the new governor during the campaign were impressed with, among other things, his amazing toughness. He can say "no" as well as anyone in politics. And he also demonstrated a virtually unerring sense of what is politically sound. His use of the rather slim powers of the secretary of state's office should be a classic study in self-promotion. Brown is willing to discuss ideas with anyone, and on this level there is little evasiveness in his statements, but he deeply resents efforts to analyze his personality. (He became incensed at one writer who described his eyes as "cold", for example.) But he is able to joke about the fact that he tried not to take hard positions during the campaign because he did not want to endanger a big lead and did want to enter the Capitol's corner office with a free hand. While the general shape of the New Spirit is yet to be drawn, some features were fleshed out during the campaign:

Capital punishment. Brown opposes it and will employ the death penalty only as an absolutely last resort.

Marijuana. He will sign the bill vetoed by Reagan reducing penalties for possession of pot.

The winners

Governor. Democrat Edmund G. (Jerry) Brown Jr., 36, secretary of state, former trustee of the Los Angeles community college district.
United States Senator. Democrat Alan Cranston, 60, incumbent, former state controller.
Lieutenant Governor. Democrat Mervyn Dymally, 48, state senator, founder of the National Conference of Black Elected Officials.
Secretary of State. Democrat March K. Fong, 52, assemblywoman from Oakland, former member of the Alameda County school board.
Controller. Democrat Ken Cory, 37, assemblyman and former legislative staff member.
Treasurer. Democrat Jesse M. Unruh, 52, former assemblyman and speaker.
Attorney General. Republican Evelle J. Younger, 56, incumbent, former Los Angeles district attorney and superior court judge.

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Public employees. Brown favors giving public employees the right to strike (because in effect they already have it), with the exception of policemen and firemen.

Welfare. He generally supports the reform programs of the Reagan administration and believes that able-bodied persons should be induced to work.

Housing. Brown spoke out often in favor of state funding to develop housing for low- and middle-income Californians, legislation that was vetoed by Reagan.

Beyond these and a few other stands, however, Brown spoke only in general terms during the campaign. And he never had to take positions on many controversial issues while secretary of state. Nonetheless, here is a broad outline of what may be expected in major areas of government:

Fiscal affairs. The Brown administration will be surprisingly conservative in spending the public's money. Tax increases will be a last resort, and those enacted will probably hit hardest at corporations and the wealthy.

Resources. The Reagan administration tried to follow a middle road on environmental issues. Under Brown, the state will become much more aggressive in using available tools to fight smog, water pollution and environmental degradation. He will probably not halt construction of the peripheral canal around the Sacramento-San Joaquin delta, however.

Transportation. The trend toward development of mass transit will be emphasized, and freeway construction will continue to slow.

Agriculture. Brown is especially interested in getting the governor's office more involved in the state's agricultural problems. He leans toward Cesar Chavez in the farm-labor conflict, but agriculture is one field in which details are especially lacking.

Consumer affairs. With a heavy Democratic majority in the Legislature, Brown will probably seek measures to make the Department of Consumer Affairs less business oriented and more aggressive in protecting the public.

Health and welfare. Brown's biggest problem here is to keep skyrocketing Medi-Cal costs under control. Welfare will probably remain relatively unchanged, but there could be major reforms in the health field. The Reagan administration performed a frontal lobotomy on the old Department of Public Health in forming the new Department of Health; the public-health folks now can expect restorative surgery.

'Will the real Jerry Brown please stand up?'

Education. Because Brown is an intellectual (more so than Flournoy, despite his doctorate in government), higher education should fare well. And urban school districts may get a better break under Brown than under Reagan, who bought the notion that suburban districts are those with the greatest financial need. (If Flournoy had won, higher education would also have been well off, but urban districts would get relatively little sympathy from him.)

Executive emphasis

Brown claims that he will not be sending a long list of proposed legislation to the Legislature, that instead he will attempt to solve California's problems with aggressive leadership and implementation of laws already on the books. He says he will bring conservatives — Republicans, businessmen, almost anyone competent — into his administration, as long as they are committed to an activist role for state government. But while the New Spirit wants activism, Brown does not mean this to take the form of expensive new programs. Instead, he would put what he considers the right kind of dynamic personnel into key spots, like the Public Utilities Commission, the new political reform commission, the new energy commission and the Department of Consumer Affairs. Declared Brown: "We've had a glut of legislative enactments and a scarcity of executive performance."

But Brown will be unable to avoid a flood of legislation. For eight years, Democrats in the Legislature have sat frustrated, watching Governor Reagan quash and veto their proposals. There is a tremendous backlog of Democratic proposals that will be sent to his desk in the next year. Among these measures: unemployment insurance for farm workers, liberalization of marijuana laws, statewide land-use controls, elimination of some victimless crimes (especially in the field of sex). Democratic lawmakers have not even pushed a number of their pet bills in recent years because they knew the proposals would never clear the governor's office. Now, this pent-up demand will be released in a flood of bills.

And bills are not like questions on the stump; a candidate can equivocate, but even a New Spirit governor must say "yes" or "no".

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Complete November election analysis

Statewide – ***Unusual top-of-the-ticket voting pattern***

Congress – ***Considering Watergate, GOP losses modest***

State Senate – ***Court prevented a Republican disaster***

Assembly – ***Can 55 Democrats work together in harmony?***

By ED SALZMAN

Just two days before the November 5th election, Jerry Brown reported that his own polls showed him eight points ahead of Hugh Flournoy. The final California Poll by Mervin Field showed the same gap. Brown's campaign manager Tom Quinn, conservatively forecast a 300,000-vote victory for his man. The Flournoy camp was not optimistic, although the candidate was saying he would win. In a sense, the pollsters were right: Every candidate they had shown to be leading for a statewide office won but the margins of victory — especially in the Brown-Flournoy gubernatorial contest — were far from accurate.

What happened? Assuming that the polls were right at the time taken, why were there such substantial changes in voter preference?

It is difficult to determine precisely why Brown almost blew his big lead while Democrats up and down the state and across the nation were winning by healthy margins. To make a precise finding would require something akin to psychological analysis of the California voter. A number of questions have been raised, however, in the effort to learn why Brown won by a mere 178,000 votes out of the more than six million cast for the office. Among them:

Personality. Did the public tire of Brown's strident and aggressive campaign, while warming to Flournoy's low-key approach?

Partisanship. As the campaign drew to a close, Brown emphasized the need to elect an entire Democratic ticket and to throw the Republican rascals out. Did that lose Brown much of his potential GOP vote and help solidify conservative and moderate Republicans behind Flournoy?

Positions. Did Brown's stands against capital punishment, against the New Melones high dam, and for liberalization of marijuana laws offend middle-of-the-road voters, especially in Northern California? On the other hand, did his conservative welfare and fiscal policies lose him votes among liberals?

Turnout. Only 63 percent of California's 9.9 million registered voters went to the polls, the lowest since 62.9 percent in 1946 and the third lowest in 70 years. Did that cut Brown's victory margin?

Brown captured barely 50 percent of the vote. Something less than three percentage points separated his vote from Flournoy's, making the race the closest in California since 1920. And this in a year in which Democrats enjoyed a massive registration advantage, Watergate was still fresh in the public mind, the economy was sick and Richard Nixon was still in the news. Brown may have ridden into office on the coattails of the Democratic Party, and the same may be said for Mervyn Dymally, who was elected lieutenant governor, because his final victory margin will likely be about 172,000 votes (because of a tabulating error, the gap was announced as 182,000).

The only two Democrats to win by true landslide proportions were United States Senator Alan Cranston and Secretary of State-elect March Fong. The candidates for controller and treasurer, Ken Cory and Jesse Unruh, won by comfortable but not overwhelming majorities.

Traditions kept and broken

In keeping with California tradition, the voters elected one Republican in the Democratic sweep, Attorney General Evelle Younger. The polls had shown Younger winning reelection by an unrealistic margin of about 20 percentage points, double his actual margin of 10 points. But another California tradition was broken: Modoc County, which has gone with a winner for governor for some 62 years, gave the nod to Flournoy this time. Flournoy campaigned in the county, which contains quite a few distant relatives by the name of Flournoy centered in the town with the unlikely name of Likely.

Flournoy has declared that he would have won if the Nixon pardon had been delayed until Christmas or if the campaign had been one week longer. But "ifs" are meaningless in politics. *IF* Nixon had not been pardoned, he *might* have been indicted. Would that have been better for Republicans? *IF* election day were one week later, wouldn't the television commercials and the whole pace of the campaign — including the polls — have been moved up one week? Indeed, *IF* Ed Reinecke had not been indicted, Hugh Flournoy might well not have been the Republican candidate.

In the final analysis, all that counts in an election is who wins — even if the margin is a single vote.

And in lesser offices, that is the story of election 1974 — the large number of legislative contests won by

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Democrats by small margins. The Democrats gained four seats within the 43-member Congressional delegation, two seats in the state Senate and seven in the Assembly. This was the first election following the reapportionment drafted by special masters for the state Supreme Court. It clearly worked to the disadvantage of the Republicans, although some argument can be made that the outcome would have been worse under plans proposed by the Legislature. (That's another of those "ifs" that can never be resolved because the legislative plan cannot be used in an election.)

Republicans held several congressional districts that might have been lost had the Nixon impeachment issue still been before Congress. The Democrats who did pick up GOP seats generally won by small margins, and only Burt Talcott of Salinas had an especially close call among those GOP representatives who survived.

Republicans were spared a disaster in the state Senate by the fact that so many GOP senators did not have to face the voters this year. Only two Republicans were in deep trouble — and both lost. Democrats made a run at Peter Behr, but failed. The Senate lineup should now be 25-15. Had all the Senate terms been up, it could have been 30-10.

Democrats made their most dramatic gains in the Assembly, gaining a two-thirds majority plus one (55-25). The Democrats won almost all the close races, especially those without incumbents, and they also pulled a major surprise by knocking off Republican Ray Seeley of Blythe, who had been considered safe. The GOP unseated Ray Gonzales of Bakersfield, narrowly pulled Paul Bannai of Gardena through to victory, and won one of the two contests pitting incumbents against one another.

Both parties now have major tasks ahead: For the Democrats, the job is to produce for the public without tearing each other apart and setting the stage for a Republican rejuvenation. For the Republicans, the task is to find new leadership and mold an alliance between the conservative and moderate factions of the party. Who now speaks for the Republican Party, Ronald Reagan, Hugh Flournoy or Evelle Younger?

Governor

Edmund G. (Jerry) Brown Jr. won the race for governor in Los Angeles County. In the rest of the state, Republican Houston I. Flournoy ran a dead heat with the new Democratic governor. In fact, Flournoy carried 30 counties to Brown's 28. The race was close in all but five major counties, where the issue was decided. Flournoy's 135,000 plurality in the traditional Republican strongholds of Orange and San Diego counties were about matched by Brown's 132,000 majority in Alameda and San Francisco counties. The difference, then, was Brown's 159,000-vote advantage in Los Angeles, which can go either way in a statewide contest. Brown figured on running strong among minority groups, but he apparently did very well among middle-class residents of the San Fernando Valley. The returns also show that Brown just about broke even in some counties that might have been expected to go Republican, but Flournoy took counties that would normally go Democratic. This might be traced to varying impacts of the economic crisis within the state or to the fact that Brown ran largely a media campaign, while Flournoy's was geared more to the grassroots.

The vote:

Brown (D)	3,087,054	50.2%
Flournoy (R)	2,909,471	47.3%
Kaiser (AIP)	83,079	1.4%
Keathley (P&F)	74,061	1.2%

While there was a dramatic difference between the polls and the outcome in terms of margin, this was a campaign little marked by actual events that could have turned the tide. During the last nine months, the only major event in the campaign for governor was the indictment of then-Lieutenant Governor Ed Reinecke. That gave the Republican nomination to Flournoy, who started the race with his traditional awful showing in the opinion polls (as contrasted with Attorney General Evelle Younger, who usually does better *in* the polls than *at* the polls). There was a ripple over the legislative pension issue, but that did not turn out to be a major issue in the campaign. It was clearly out of the way before the last series of polls were taken. Brown did not raise new issues, and Flournoy's style remained dull throughout. The six debates between the candidates were largely written off as tame and repetitive affairs with neither candidate scoring an appreciable advantage. As a package, the six debates were a draw, and the election came reasonably close to producing the same result.

U.S. Senator

Not since the days of cross-filing in California has a United States Senator had such an easy time winning reelection. Senator Alan Cranston raised a small fortune, much of it from traditionally Republican sources, and went through many of the normal campaign activities. It was largely a waste of time and money. There was no way that the ultra-conservative state Senator H. L. (Bill) Richardson was going to catch Cranston, who has spent the last six years carefully cultivating the political center after having owned the left.

The vote:

Cranston (Inc. D)	3,639,334	60.5%
Richardson (R)	2,176,315	36.2%
McCoy (AIP)	100,111	1.7%
Justice (P&F)	95,394	1.6%

Cranston carried every county in the state except Inyo. He took Orange by 11,000 votes and San Diego by 28,000. He lost Inyo by 55 votes (apparently because he advocated moving Tule Elk from west of the Rockies to the east; this presumably would be an incursion on grazing lands available to Inyo ranchers).

Some of Cranston's supporters are pointing to his victory as evidence that the Senator has the kind of popularity that could make him a national candidate. But much of Cranston's victory margin must be credited to the far-out positions of his opponent, Bill Richardson.

Last of the Turks

The defeat of Hugh Flournoy and Bill Bagley will put out of office for the first time all four of the moderate Republicans known as the "Young Turks" who took control of the GOP caucus in the Assembly a decade ago. The other two are John Veneman, defeated in the Republican primary for lieutenant governor, and former Assembly Speaker Bob Monagan, now an executive with the California Manufacturers Association.

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Lieutenant Governor

The contest for lieutenant governor offered one of the most clear-cut choices on the ballot. The Republican candidate, John Harmer, was one of the most conservative members of the Legislature; the Democratic nominee, Mervyn Dymally, had just as strong a record as a liberal. Did this choice make any difference in voter selection, or did Dymally merely ride to victory in the Democratic Party's sweep? The returns show a striking similarity in the victory margins for Brown and Dymally — and it will require the final canvass to determine which of them won by the smaller margin — but this may be ill-story.

The vote:

Dymally (D)	2,942,586	49.3%
Harmer (Inc. R)	2,760,888	46.2%
Procell (AIP)	115,969	1.9%
Seals (P&F)	152,129	2.5%

A detailed examination of the returns points up a significantly different pattern from the Brown-Flournoy race. Brown carried Los Angeles County by 50,000 more votes than did Dymally. On the other hand, Dymally carried a number of counties that Brown lost, including Contra Costa, Marin, Monterey, San Luis Obispo and Stanislaus. In all, Dymally carried 34 counties and Harmer 24.

Mervyn Dymally

Dymally is the first black elected to a statewide partisan office. (Wilson Riles has twice been elected nonpartisan superintendent of public instruction.) The new lieutenant governor will vacate his Senate seat in January, and a special election will be called by Brown to fill it. The seat is safe for a black Democrat.

Harmer, who ran an expensive newspaper campaign that featured pictures of both candidates, came out a double loser. Not only did he lose the election, but he also had to abandon his safe Senate seat to accept the interim appointment as lieutenant governor following Ed Reinecke's resignation. He will now be forced to scramble to find a new place in the political sun.

After the election, Dymally unleashed a no-names attack upon the Democratic Party leadership for what he called its failure to support him. The words were aimed in part at Congressman John Burton, state chairman, who happens to be a close political ally of Assemblyman Willie L. Brown Jr. Dymally and Brown are bitter political rivals.

Secretary of State

A majority of the citizens of San Diego County must like pay toilets. Democratic Assemblywoman March K. Fong of Alameda County carried every county in California by a whopping margin (even Orange) and lost only San Diego to Republican Brian Van Camp (by 72 votes).

The vote:

Fong (D)	3,432,361	57.9%
Van Camp (R)	2,166,336	36.5%
Ripley (AIP)	201,464	3.4%
McGlachlin (P&F)	130,070	2.2%

Fong won a heated three-way primary with a campaign keyed to her legislation banning pay toilets in public buildings and on behalf of free emergency telephone calls. She added venereal disease and milk prices for her general-election campaign. But the fact that she is an attractive Oriental female probably was more important in giving her a margin over Van Camp of 1.26 million votes.

Van Camp knew he was licked after the primary. He was expecting — and hoping — to face Assemblyman Walter Karabian. But he ran as vigorous a campaign as possible, exposing a possible conflict of interest involving a travel agency run by Fong. But how are you going to defeat someone who displays the ability to get things done by banning pay toilets in public buildings?

Controller

The office of state controller eight years ago fell into the hands of a man, Houston I. Flournoy, who had been an expert on education during his time in the Legislature. The voters did the same thing this year with the election of Democrat Ken Cory — although you could never tell it from the campaign.

Cory ran a campaign keyed to his chairmanship of the committee concerned with protecting the state's oil properties. He called himself "the man the oil companies fear most." Republican Bill Bagley, a close associate of Flournoy, countered with the charge that it was "obscene" for Cory to have taken more than $500,000 in contributions from two Orange County friends, Richard O'Neill and Louis Cella. Cory then exposed a supposed conflict of interest involving Bagley legislation and Bagley's law firm. It was probably the most interesting contest in the state.

The vote:

Cory (D)	2,900,427	49.6%
Bagley (R)	2,585,777	44.2%
Scanlon (AIP)	211,832	3.6%
Cassanova (P&F)	150,003	2.6%

Cory won by slightly more than 300,000 votes, and two-thirds of the margin came from Los Angeles County. Bagley did well in some Democratic strongholds and carried San Francisco. The voters had a right to be confused: Bagley claimed to be more liberal than Cory, yet was a strong backer of Richard Nixon two years ago (he hoped for a federal appointment); Cory was painted as a

Ken Cory

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conservative on school busing, yet was one of the early supporters of George McGovern.

Cory, tall (6 foot, 7 inches) and handsome, is a master at the art of politics; he bears watching for future attempts at higher office.

Treasurer

After Ivy Baker Priest was ordered by her doctor not to seek reelection, former Assembly Speaker Jesse Unruh knew just what he had to do to win office — file for the job and disappear. This was going to be a Democratic year, he reasoned, and his name alone would be sufficient to out-distance any Republican opponent. Try as Republican John Kehoe might, he couldn't come close.

The vote:

Unruh (D)	3,098,326	52.5%
Kehoe (R)	2,525,285	42.8%
Fortner (AIP)	276,290	4.7%

This was a plebiscite on Jesse Unruh. It didn't make any difference whether his opponent was John Kehoe or any other relatively unknown Republican. The voter was given this basic choice: Do you vote against Unruh's "Big Daddy" image? Or do you recognize his immense leadership talent displayed while speaker of the Assembly? The result can be attributed both to the selection of the latter course by a majority of voters and to the Democratic sweep.

Jesse Unruh

Unruh's record portrays a man with great legislative and in-group leadership ability but a knack for making errors in dealing with the public at large and in promoting his political future. By playing it cool and staying out of sight in the treasurer's race, he made no mistakes. Will he play it cool as treasurer, or will he use his influence over the state's bank deposits to build support for another shot at the governor's job?

Attorney General

From the start of the campaign for attorney general, Evelle J. Younger enjoyed a tremendous advantage in the polls. He had the backing of Republicans because they had no other place to go, and from labor, environmentalists and others who normally would probably vote Democratic. Younger was also the only incumbent running for statewide partisan office and he had wisely chosen not to run for governor. Then came the threat of an enormous Democratic sweep and a tough campaign from Democrat William Norris, and Younger's camp began to worry. As it turned out, Younger won handsomely, but only by about half the margin indicated by the polls.

The vote:

Younger (Inc. R)	3,263,259	55%
Norris (D)	2,669,737	45%

Norris' big weapon was the complex Geotek scandal involving an oil exploration venture headed by Jack Burke. Norris claimed that Younger had received a $16,000 loan from Burke that amounted to a no-risk investment in the fraudulent company. Further, Norris claimed that Younger, while Los Angeles district attorney, had refused to investigate complaints against Burke. These charges were given wide publicity in the Sacramento and San Francisco press. Even so, Younger did well in northern Democratic strongholds.

Evelle Younger

In January, Younger will be the only Republican in statewide office. Edmund G. (Pat) Brown found himself in precisely the same spot 20 years ago — and made the most of it. Younger's biggest problem will be preventing a recurrence of the divisive battles between the moderate and conservative elements of the GOP.

Board of Equalization

Voters pay little attention to the four Board of Equalization posts. Members of the tax-collecting board are usually ousted only when there is a scandal or a massive partisan landslide. All four Democrats thus were reelected without difficulty. One member, William Bennett, even reported that he spent nothing on his campaign, except a filing fee.

The vote:

District 1		
	Reilly (Inc. D)	840,807
	Arklin (R)	487,277
	Propst (P&F)	73,152
District 2		
	Lynch (Inc. D)	801,444
	Templeton (R)	654,278
District 3		
	Bennett (Inc. D)	923,934
	Mastrangelo (R)	463,930
	Stancliffe (AIP)	106,142
District 4		
	Nevins (Inc. D)	797,348
	Getty (R)	355,478
	Timko (P&F)	50,941

Propositions

The two most controversial ballot measures — Proposition 17 to halt construction of the New Melones high dam and Proposition 15 to eliminate plebiscites on low-rent housing projects — were both defeated by the voters. The balloting was close on only three of the 17 proposals facing the voters — 17, 14 (state college system), and 11 (masculine terms).

The votes:

Proposition 1, Providing for a $150 million bond issue for construction of public schools.

For	3,337,275
Against	2,215,910

Californians maintained their long tradition of approving school bonds. Only Tehama County recorded a majority against the proposal.

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Proposition 2, Eliminating legislative ratification of city and county charter amendments.

Yes	3,746,921
No	1,399,374

All 58 counties liked this proposition, which will have no practical effect but will cut out some unnecessary red tape.

Proposition 3, Exempting the chief administrative officer and three deputies of the Postsecondary Education Commission from civil service.

Yes	2,162,600
No	2,853,246

The voters didn't like this measure any better in November than they liked its predecessor in June. Only four counties (Marin, San Mateo, Stanislaus, Yolo) went for it.

Proposition 4, Reducing terms of University of California regents from 16 years to 12, and revising the board's membership.

Yes	2,871,913
No	2,328,750

This proposal carried heavily in the urban areas but was not particularly popular in rural California. Twenty-one counties went against it.

Proposition 5, Prohibiting charter cities and counties from requiring their employees to live within their boundaries.

Yes	3,214,308
No	2,096,923

This was an especially controversial measure in Los Angeles, which approved it by a wide margin. Voters in San Francisco and seven other counties recorded majorities in opposition.

Proposition 6, Conforming the state Constitution to the home-owner property-tax exemption now in effect.

Yes	4,349,342
No	936,051

There wasn't even a pocket of opposition to this "motherhood" measure.

Proposition 7, Streamlining and clarifying the bill-of-rights article of the state Constitution.

Yes	3,441,334
No	1,474,674

Only Tuolumne County voted against this one — and by a slim margin at that.

Proposition 8, Streamlining the taxation article in the state Constitution.

Yes	3,388,909
No	1,567,321

Constitutional revision was generally popular this year, and there weren't any counties going against this plan.

Proposition 9, Revising and streamlining state constitutional provisions on recalling public officials.

Yes	3,105,458
No	1,953,006

In Trinity, Del Norte and Kern counties, this measure was unpopular. But it carried easily through the rest of the state.

Proposition 10, Allowing Californians convicted of crimes to vote after completing parole.

Yes	2,960,320
No	2,298,043

The main effect of this measure will be to standardize procedures for restoration of voting rights throughout the state. The measure carried 50 of the 58 counties. Orange and Kern were among the dissenters.

Proposition 11, Eliminating masculine terms in the state Constitution.

Yes	2,592,901
No	2,548,898

This symbol of female equality came within a whisker of being defeated. It carried only 23 counties, losing Los Angeles and 34 others. But a strong "aye" vote in the urban northern counties offset the L.A. and rural opposition.

Proposition 12, Shortening and streamlining the constitutional provisions on the regulation of public utilities.

Yes	3,307,978
No	1,485,602

This non-substantive proposition won easily everywhere.

Proposition 13, Allowing the City of San Diego to be divided into two judicial districts.

Yes	3,076,792
No	1,555,946

The 2-1 margin applied both in San Diego and in the rest of the state.

Proposition 14, Adding the president pro tempore of the state Senate to the State University and College Board of Trustees.

Yes	2,417,772
No	2,494,064

By a slim margin, the public said it does not want more politicians serving on higher-education governing boards. The measure did carry 17 counties.

Proposition 15, Repealing the requirement that every proposed low-rent, public-housing project be submitted to the electorate.

Yes	1,999,649
No	3,163,895

Proponents of this proposition fought for years to get it on the ballot only to see it carry but two counties, Sierra and Siskiyou.

Proposition 16, Giving the Legislature rather than the University of California regents the power to determine the level of tuition for UC students.

Yes	2,130,951
No	2,936,861

The pattern of voting indicated that the public figured this measure would be used to reduce tuition. It carried only Alameda and Mariposa counties.

Proposition 17, Adding sections of the Stanislaus River to the state's wild-rivers system and preventing construction of the New Melones high dam.

Yes	2,575,471
No	2,891,018

This was the only initiative measure on the ballot and there were some reports of voter confusion because it took a "yes" vote to say "no" on the dam. (However, the voting patterns would indicate that this confusion was not widespread.) The most ecology-conscious counties in the state (including Alameda, Marin, Monterey, San Francisco, Santa Barbara, Santa Clara, Santa Cruz, Sonoma and Yolo) reported majorities in favor of 17.

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CONGRESS

Considering the depth of the nationwide Democratic sweep, Republicans probably did well to retain 15 congressional seats in California's 43-member delegation. Two GOP incumbents believed to be in deep trouble, Burt Talcott of Salinas and Bob Wilson of San Diego, retained their seats. The Democratic majority within the delegation was increased from 24-19 to 28-15, but from a Republican viewpoint the outcome might well have been much worse. Two GOP incumbents, Bob Mathias of Tulare and Victor Veysey of Claremont, were defeated. Democrats won the seats abandoned by retiring Republicans Charles Gubser of Santa Clara County and Craig Hosmer of Long Beach. And a Democrat captured the Orange County seat vacated by Democrat Dick Hanna.

District 1 (61% D-33% R)

Johnson (Inc. D)	137,849
Paradis (AIP)	22,628

Veteran Congressman Bizz Johnson of Roseville is so well entrenched that he faced no Republican opposition.

District 2 (57% D-36% R)

Clausen (Inc. R)	95,508
Klee (D)	76,951
Glass (P&F)	7,719

Klee, a colorful fisherman, ran well in Humboldt County but was demolished in Napa and Sonoma counties. If the Watergate tide had run stronger in California, Clausen might have been defeated.

District 3 (61% D-33% R)

Moss (Inc. D)	121,842
Lenci (R)	46,585

The veteran John Moss of Sacramento has a solid Democratic district, and this year's opponent was probably the softest of his long political career.

District 4 (64% D-31% R)

Leggett (Inc. D)	100,934

District 5 (59% D-32% R)

John Burton (Inc. D)	87,323
Caylor (R)	55,881
Broshears (P&F)	3,999

Former Assemblyman John Burton solidified his grasp of this San Francisco-Marin seat, won in a special election earlier in the year, with this impressive victory.

District 6 (69% D-23% R)

Phillip Burton (Inc. D)	84,585
Spinosa (R)	25,721
Davis (AIP)	3,456
Siegel (P&F)	4,753

Phil Burton, who is becoming one of California's most influential congressmen, was given a virtually unbeatable San Francisco district by reapportionment.

District 7 (61% D-34% R)

Miller (D)	82,765
Fernandez (R)	66,115

Republican leaders thought there was an outside chance that Richmond Councilman Gary Fernandez could win this seat, being vacated by Representative Jerome Waldie of Antioch. But George Miller, son of the late state Senator George Miller Jr., proved too strong an opponent. The Democratic registration heavily favored Miller, but that is not always tantamount to victory in Contra Costa County.

District 8 (63% D-28% R)

Dellums (Inc. D)	93,106
Redden (R)	65,432
Holland (AIP)	6,324

Redistricting gave incumbent liberal Ron Dellums some heavily Republican precincts in Contra Costa County, but they were more than offset by a strong Democratic tide in Berkeley and Oakland.

Key to statistics

Registration percentages are based on the September 12th registration report from the secretary of state's office.

Winners' names are in **bold-face** type.

The election returns are from the semi-official canvass by the secretary of state's office.

Abbreviations: Inc. for incumbent, D for Democrat, R for Republican, AIP for American Independent Party, and P&F for Peace and Freedom Party.

District 9 (63% D-30% R)

Stark (Inc. D)	87,854
Adams (R)	36,522

Freshman Fortney (Pete) Stark appears to have strengthened his hold on this Alameda County district.

District 10 (65% D-27% R)

Edwards (Inc. D)	86,014
Enright (R)	25,678

Perhaps helped by his activities during the Nixon impeachment hearings, veteran Don Edwards ran ahead of Democratic registration in this Alameda-Santa Clara district.

District 11 (58% D-36% R)

Ryan (Inc. D)	106,075
Merdinger (R)	29,783
Kudrovzeff (AIP)	4,293

Freshman Congressman Leo Ryan ran a whopping 18 percent ahead of registration in this northern San Mateo County area, which not long ago was considered marginal territory.

District 12 (51% D-41% R)

McCloskey (Inc. R)	103,228
Gillmore (D)	46,197

By whipping a conservative in the GOP primary, liberal Republican Paul McCloskey demolished Democratic hopes of taking this San Mateo-Santa Clara seat.

District 13 (53% D-39% R)

Mineta (D)	78,649
Milias (R)	63,381
Stancliffe (AIP)	3,738
Barron (P&F)	3,846

For many years, this Santa Clara seat has been held by Republican Charles Gubser, who decided to retire in the wake of Watergate. Democrats came up with the perfect candidate for this marginal district, Mayor Norman Mineta of San Jose. The GOP countered with former Assemblyman George Milias of Gilroy, a strong candidate who nevertheless fell 10 percent short of Mineta.

District 14 (58% D-36% R)

McFall (Inc. D)	101,932
Gibson (R)	34,679
Blain (AIP)	7,367

John McFall of Manteca, third in command among Democrats in the House of Representatives, appears to have a strangle hold on his central valley district.

District 15 (65% D-30% R)

Sisk (Inc. D)	80,205
Harner (R)	31,361

Veteran Bernie Sisk of Fresno is recognized, both at home and in Washington, as one of the shrewdest members of Congress. The returns support that reputation.

District 16 (54% D-38% R)

Talcott (Inc. R)	76,084
Camacho (D)	74,018
Mauro (AIP)	4,576

This was perhaps the most bitterly contested race in the state. Incumbent Burt Talcott of Salinas was a national Democratic target, and Democrat Julian Camacho ran an aggressive and well-financed campaign. But Camacho might have been hurt by his Chicano name and GOP efforts to link him with Cesar Chavez. Talcott will probably be fighting for his political life again in 1976.

District 17 (59% D-33% R)

Mathias (Inc. R)	61,242
Krebs (D)	66,082

The glamor has finally worn off Bob Mathias, 1948's Olympic decathlon champion. The combination of adverse reapportionment and the opposition of Fresno County Supervisor John Krebs was sufficient to defeat Mathias, despite an 11th-hour rescue mission by President Ford.

District 18 (56% D-39% R)

Ketchum (Inc. R)	66,603
Seielstad (D)	59,931

Watergate and reapportionment were supposed to have endangered Republican Bill Ketchum of Bakersfield, but he proved too strong a campaigner in this traditionally conservative Tehachapi region.

District 19 (54% D-38% R)

Lagomarsino (Inc. R)	84,849
Loebl (D)	65,334

This was a rematch of the special election won by former state Senator Robert J. Lagomarsino earlier this year. Lagomarsino was the only Republican to win a post-Watergate special election for Congress, and he proved his personal popularity by beating Democrat James Loebl by a comfortable margin while GOP legislative candidates in the same area were losing.

District 20 (48% D-45% R)

Goldwater (Inc. R)	96,324
Mathews (D)	61,119

Consumer-boycott leader Arline Mathews tried valiantly to overcome a strong Republican tradition in this Burbank region of Los Angeles

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County, but she scarcely dented the armor of Republican Barry Goldwater Jr.

District 21 (61% D-32% R)

Corman (Inc. D)	86,778
Nadell (R)	31,365

Veteran Jim Corman used to have trouble winning this San Fernando Valley seat, but his problem days seem over – at least until the next redistricting.

District 22 (43% D-51% R)

Moorhead (Inc. R)	78,983
Hallin (D)	62,770

Freshman Carlos J. Moorhead of Glendale was one of Richard Nixon's staunchest defenders during the impeachment hearings. His constituents told him how they felt about his position by giving him a relatively close call in a district that is heavily Republican. The Los Angeles Times endorsed his opponent, educator Richard Hallin.

District 23 (61% D-32% R)

Rees (Inc. D)	119,239
Roberts (R)	47,615

Democrat Tom Rees of Beverly Hills ran 10 points ahead of registration.

District 24 (60% D-32% R)

Waxman (D)	85,343
Graham (R)	43,680
Davis (AIP)	3,980

This district, created by reapportionment, includes much of the Jewish section of Los Angeles and was made to order for Assemblyman Henry Waxman.

District 25 (68% D-22% R)

Roybal (Inc. D)	43, 998

District 26 (45% D-49% R)

Rousselot (Inc. R)	80,782
Confort (D)	56,487

This was not nearly as wide a margin as Republican John Rousselot of San Marino usually enjoys. But it's still plenty comfortable.

District 27 (48% D-43% R)

Bell (Inc. R)	99,645
Dalessio (D)	50,919
Rubin (P&F)	5,547

Representative Alphonzo Bell posted one of the better Republican victories in this coastal Los Angeles district.

District 28 (73% D-21% R)

Burke (Inc. D)	86,743
Neddy (R)	21,308

One must wonder why any Republican bothers to run against popular Congresswoman Yvonne Brathwaite Burke in this Democratic stronghold.

District 29 (83% D-13% R)

Hawkins (Inc. D.)	45,977

District 30 (69% D-24% R)

Danielson (Inc. D)	66,074
Perez (R)	22,928

Even a Spanish surname didn't help the Republican much in this heavily Chicano district in Los Angeles. Incumbent George Danielson was aided by his appearance as a Nixon "prosecutor" in the House impeachment hearings.

District 31 (72% D-22% R)

Wilson (Inc. D)	60,560
Hodges (R)	23,039
Taylor (P&F)	2,349

Veteran Charles Wilson of Hawthorne can only be unseated in a Democratic primary, as this whopping victory indicates.

District 32 (62% D-31% R)

Anderson (Inc. D)	82,485
Badalich (AIP)	8,710
Walker (P&F)	2,877

Former Lieutenant Governor Glenn M. Anderson of Harbor City seems to have found a home in Congress.

District 33 (53% D-41% R)

Clawson (Inc. R)	71,054
White (D)	57,423
Griffin (AIP)	4,636

City Councilman Bob White of Norwalk was supposed to have run a closer race than this against incumbent Del Clawson of Downey.

District 34 (52% D-41% R)

Hannaford (D)	78,345
Bond (R)	72,967
Manis (AIP)	3,169
Donohue (P&F)	3,043

Both parties went all out to win this seat, vacated by Republican Craig Hosmer of Long Beach. The Democrat, former mayor Mark Hannaford of Lakewood, proved a better campaigner than Republican Assemblyman Bill Bond of Long Beach. In a better GOP year, Bond probably would have won.

District 35 (51% D-43% R)

Veysey (Inc. R)	60,102
Lloyd (D)	60,709

Representative Victor Veysey was put in a rough spot by reapportionment, which put him in the same district with another Republican. So he decided to seek a new constituency in this reapportionment-created district covering part of San Bernardino County and the Claremont region of Los Angeles County. City Councilman Jim Lloyd of West Covina had two ready-made issues to use – Watergate and carpetbagging – and he barely pulled through to victory. In normal times, however, this district should go Republican.

District 36 (61% D-33% R)

Brown (Inc. D)	69,615
Osgood (R)	35,858
Pasley (AIP)	5,701

Congressman George Brown Jr., once one of the most stridently liberal politicians in California, has adopted a cooler stance with his San Bernardino-Riverside constituency and has pulled through in handsome fashion.

District 37 (48% D-46% R)

Pettis (Inc. R)	88,548
Vincent (D)	46,449
Ortman (AIP)	5,522

Republican Jerry Pettis of Loma Linda is gradually building a reputation as one of the weightier members of the delegation. He was untouched by the Democratic sweep.

District 38 (54% D-38% R)

Patterson (D)	67,299
Rehmann (R)	51,509
Rayburn (AIP)	3,991
Kallenberger (P&F)	1,851

Democrat Dick Hanna had barely managed to hold his seat in this Orange County area, and republicans thought that they would take the district following Hanna's retirement this year. The GOP nominee was David Rehmann, one of four former Vietnam prisoners of war entering politics this year nationally (all lost). But Mayor Jerry Patterson of Santa Ana ran a superior campaign and benefitted from an end to GOP control of Orange County this year.

District 39 (43% D-50% R)

Wiggins (Inc. R)	87,995
Farris (D)	64,375
Scalera (AIP)	6,967

For Republican Charles Wiggins, a 15 percent vitory margin is a close call. The reasons: a Democratic trend in Orange County and his defense of Richard Nixon during the televised Watergate hearings.

District 40 (37% D-55% R)

Hinshaw (Inc. R)	114,895
Wilson (D)	56,195
Watkins (AIP)	10,381

This is the most solidly Republican district in the state, easy pickings for former Orange County Assessor Andrew Hinshaw.

District 41 (48% D-42% R)

Wilson (Inc. R)	93,461
O'Connor (D)	73,954
Franson (AIP)	4,312

For a race that was given national attention as a bellweather contest, this proved to be something of a dud. Colorful Colleen O'Connor was supposed to be only one percent behind veteran Bob Wilson of San Diego a week before the election, but the final gap turned out to be 11 percent.

District 42 (58% D-33% R)

Van Deerlin (Inc. D)	69,746
Marden (R)	30,058

Veteran Democrat Lionel Van Deerlin is blessed with a safe constituency on the Mexican border.

District 43 (44% D-48% R)

Burgener (Inc. R)	114,102
Bandes (D)	74,905

Democrat Bill Bandes was unable to match the Democratic registration in this San Diego County district against popular incumbent Clair W. Burgener.

SUMMARY: Most congressional races were decided on factors peculiar to each district. There was no strong overall post-Watergate Democratic landslide. Otherwise, several other Republican incumbents would probably have fallen.

Norman Mineta **John Krebs** **George Miller** **Jim Lloyd** **Mark Hannaford**

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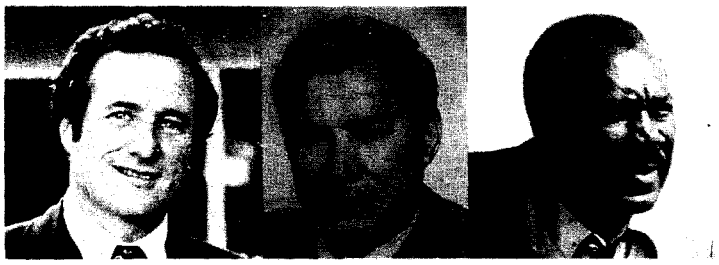
STATE SENATE

When all the election debris is cleared, the Democrats should wind up with a solid working majority of 25 members in the 40-seat state Senate. Prior to the election, there were 22 Democrats, 16 Republicans and two vacancies. One vacancy was caused by the resignation of Republican Fred Marler, who had been reapportioned out of his Northern California seat and was given a judgeship by Governor Reagan. The other was created by the appointment of Republican John Harmer to fill the vacancy caused by the forced resignation of Ed Reinecke as lieutenant governor. The Democrats picked up the Marler seat, which in effect was moved to Southern California. The Harmer seat will be filled by special election and should remain in the Republican column.

The election will create another vacancy in January — the seat now held by Lieutenant Governor-elect Mervyn Dymally. That undoubtedly will remain Democratic.

In addition to the gain of one seat through redistricting, Democrats added two more senators by defeating incumbents. The veteran conservative Clark Bradley of San Jose was soundly defeated by Mayor Jerry Smith of Saratoga, and that was no surprise. And Riverside County Undersheriff Bob Presley won a rematch with GOP incumbent Craig Biddle in an extremely close contest that may well have been decided in favor of Presley by the presence of an American Independent Party "spoiler" in the race. A third Republican believed to be in trouble, Peter Behr of Marin County, retained his seat. Only senators representing even-numbered districts were up for election this year, with the remainder scheduled to face the voters in 1976.



Jerry Smith Bob Presley Nate Holden

District 2 (56% D-36% R)

Behr (Inc. R)	97,504
Banker (D)	79,963
Novak-Sutley (P&F)	7,983

Peter Behr, one of the most liberal Republicans in the Legislature, won more than enough Democratic votes to fend off a stiff challenge from Mendocino County Supervisor Ernest Banker. Conservationist Behr carried his home county of Marin by 35,000 votes, enough to offset Banker's lead in the district's other five counties.

District 4 (60% D-35% R)

Dunlap (D)	103,618
McPherson (R)	60,061
Marlow (P&F)	5,577

This was the expected runaway for Assemblyman John Dunlap in a new district created by reapportionment.

District 6 (64% D-30% R)

Moscone (Inc. D)	111,881
Woods (R)	30,543
Heaps (AIP)	4,995

Despite moving heavily into San Mateo County, incumbent George Moscone of San Francisco ran better than 10 points ahead of the substantial Democratic registration. The victory may puff Moscone up for the San Francisco mayor's race next year.

District 8 (66% D-28% R)

Holmdahl (Inc. D)	98,346
Colglazier (R)	27,656

Reapportionment was especially kind to veteran John Holmdahl of Alameda County. It removed the pesky Berkeley radicals from his district and gave him a constituency more in keeping with his moderate philosophy.

District 10 (52% D-41% R)

Gregorio (Inc. D)	106,010
Tormey (R)	50,060
Cooney (AIP)	5,248

The registration statistics would appear to make this a marginal district. But the personal popularity of Democrat Arlen Gregorio, who over the past four years built a solid record as a political reformer, made a shambles of the numbers. He ran 14 percent ahead of Democratic registration in both the San Mateo and Santa Clara portions of the district.

District 12 (53% D-39% R)

Bradley (Inc. R)	65,919
Smith (D)	85,386
Herrell (AIP)	3,491

The defeat of Clark Bradley of San Jose should expedite Senate sessions measurably. Bradley spoke on the Senate floor far more than any other senator, and he meticulously picked every bill's nits. He was defeated because of reapportionment, because he was more conservative than his district, and because he had a strong opponent, Mayor Jerry Smith of Saratoga.

District 14 (65% D-30% R)

Zenovich (Inc. D)	92,760

Blessed with no opposition, George Zenovich of Fresno was able to concentrate on his campaign to oust Democrat James Mills of San Diego as Senate president pro tempore.

District 16 (56% D-39% R)

Stiern (Inc. D)	89,131
Jackson (R)	47,845

This district, centered in Bakersfield, should be one of the most politically volatile in the state, because Democratic loyalty in the area is low. But veteran Senator Walter Stiern, a veterinarian, has been able to develop a nonpartisan image that has kept him invulnerable to strong GOP opponents. This time, he ran a whopping 30 percentage points ahead of Kern County Supervisor LeRoy Jackson.

District 18 (56% D-39% R)

Rains (Inc. D)	96,612
MacGillivray (R)	57,737
Mohr (P&F)	3,189

Democrat Omer Rains of Ventura County showed in the general election that his clear-cut special election victory earlier in the year over Republican Assemblyman Don MacGillivray was no fluke. MacGillivray, who had lost his appeal with the electorate, ran behind the Republican registration even in his home county.

District 20 (61% D-33% R)

Robbins (Inc. D)	92,313
Ellis (R)	38,230
Knaizansky-Tucker (P&F)	3,794

The San Fernando Valley was a Democratic stronghold this year, and freshman Senator Alan Robbins was a prime beneficiary.

District 22 (60% D-32% R)

Beilenson (Inc. D)	126,453
Bauer (R)	54,902
Garris (P&F)	4,214

Senator Anthony Beilenson of Los Angeles is so popular among his constituents that he need not campaign to win by huge margins.

District 24 (69% D-21%R)

Garcia (D)	46,385
Martinez (R)	19,562
Mount (P&F)	4,071

This is a Chicano district created by reapportionment. Assemblyman Alex Garcia of Los Angeles will become the state's second Mexican-American senator, following Ruben Ayala of San Bernardino.

District 26 (65% D-28% R)

Song (Inc. D)	82,424
Schroetter (R)	29,273

Veteran legislator Alfred Song of Monterey Park apparently was hardly touched by adverse articles in the Los Angeles Times.

District 28 (70% D-23% R)

Dills (Inc. D)	72,493
Brown (R)	21,202

For Ralph Dills of Gardena, the battle ended when he defeated two aggressive opponents in the Democratic primary.

District 30 (71% D-24% R)

Holden (D)	87,875
Mechtold (R)	34,986

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Nate Holden, president of the liberal California Democratic Council, will become the second black senator in California history (after Mervyn Dymally).

District 32 (59% D-36% R)

Ayala (Inc. D)	76,940
Marcus (R)	29,895
Clark (AIP)	5,059

Incumbent Ruben Ayala, who won a tight special election contest to get his seat last year, was benefitted by incumbency, reapportionment, weak opposition and a strong Democratic trend in San Bernardino County.

District 34 (51% D-42% R)

Biddle (Inc. R)	69,843
Presley (D)	70,503
Meadows (AIP)	6,241

In June 1972, Undersheriff Bob Presley of Riverside County almost defeated veteran lawmaker Craig Biddle in a special election. He turned the tables this time by fewer than 1,000 votes in a battle more of personal appeal than of partisan affiliation. But American Independent Nial Meadows may have played a spoiler role by taking enough votes away from Biddle to give Presley the edge.

District 36 (38% D-54% R)

Carpenter (Inc. R)	122,888
Barbaro (D)	71,184
Bogart (AIP)	9,163

Even the Democratic gains in Orange County didn't seem to affect Senate GOP caucus chairman Dennis Carpenter, who has one of the safest Republican districts in the state.

District 38 (43% D-49% R)

Stull (Inc. R)	118,149
Stahl (D	83,418

Considering the registration statistics and the location of the district in a traditional Republican stronghold, incumbent John Stull of Leucadia didn't win by much of a margin.

District 40 (56% D-34% R)

Mills (Inc. D)	75,374
McKinney (R)	37,313

This was a runaway for Senate President pro Tempore James Mills of San Diego, who was more concerned with keeping his leadership post than with the threat posed by his GOP opponent.

SUMMARY: It's a mighty good thing for the Republicans that only the even-numbered seats were up this time. Otherwise, there might well be only a handful of Republicans left in the Senate.

ASSEMBLY

Not since the last century have the Democrats had as many members of the Assembly as they will have in the next Legislature. But the 55 seats the Democrats won — one vote more than the two-thirds margin needed to pass a budget or override a gubernatorial veto — could have been significantly higher with just a few more votes in at least five districts. The Republicans were lucky to salvage 25 seats. Only five incumbents were swept out of office — Democrats Ray Gonzales and Joe Gonsalves and Republicans Ray Johnson, Doug Carter and Ray Seeley. The Democrats won all nine of the hotly contested non-incumbent races created by reapportionment or by an assemblyman seeking another office.

The last time the Democrats had a heavy majority was in 1963 with 52 votes under then-Speaker Jesse Unruh. But the Republicans had 55 votes in 1943 and held even larger majorities for many years early in the century. (Going into the election this year, the lineup was 48 Democrats, 31 Republicans and one vacancy.)

Strongholds fall

The returns show that the Republicans were especially weak this year in areas formerly known as solid GOP territory — Orange, Riverside and San Bernardino counties. The biggest surprise of the year was the narrow defeat of Republican Seeley, who did not even have a Democratic opponent on the ballot in June. But young Tom Suitt won the nomination by write-in and went on to lick Seeley.

While the Democrats took three-quarters of the hard-fought seats, the closeness of the figures in many races indicate that the Republicans might have come close to winning a majority had this been a Republican instead of a Democratic year (1966, for example).

The parties split the two races in which incumbents were pitted, Democrat Pauline Davis defeating Johnson and Republican Bob McLennan ousting Gonsalves. Two former Assembly members, Democrat Tom Bane and Republican Bill Campbell, will return.

Gene Gualco **John Garamendi** **Al Siegler**

District 1 (59% D-35% R)

Davis (Inc. D)	48,950
Johnson, R (Inc. R)	44,067

Reapportionment put Pauline Davis and Ray Johnson into the same nine-county rural district. Davis took seven of the counties, but Johnson came within 5,000 of closing the gap with a big win in his home county of Butte. Johnson ran a strong race but couldn't overcome the registration disadvantage in a Democratic year.

District 2 (58% D-33% R)

Keene (Inc. D)	62,005
Peterson (R)	30,320

Supervisor Donald Peterson of Arcata was not even able to carry his home county of Humboldt against incumbent Barry Keene.

District 3 (56% D-39% R)

Chappie (Inc. R)	42,396
Reed (D)	41,831
Moss (AIP)	3,827

Veteran Republican Eugene Chappie was weakened by redistricting, and came close to being defeated by former Roseville Mayor Baron Reed. The race was tight in all seven counties within the district.

District 4 (62% D-32% R)

Z'berg (Inc. D)	40,980
Abernathy (R)	36,746
Rees (AIP)	3,395

This Sacramento-Solano-Yolo counties district should be a Democratic stronghold. But Republican Mike Abernathy came surprisingly close to defeating incumbent Ed Z'berg with an aggressive campaign based in part on the Democrat's highly publicized drunk-driving conviction. Z'berg won his 4,000-vote victory margin in the Yolo County sector.

District 5 (61% D-33% R)

Gualco (D)	45,779
Sloan (R)	27,390
Hutchins AIP)	7,210

Sacramento County Supervisor Gene Gualco really won the seat in June by knocking off incumbent Walter Powers.

District 6 (62% D-32% R)

Leroy Greene (Inc. D)	64,337
Cockrell (R)	27,592

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Redistricting gave Democrat Leroy Greene a safe political haven.

District 7 (56% D-38% R)

Carter (Inc. R)	33,741
Garamendi (D)	60,097

This was a case of one candidate, incumbent Doug Carter of Stockton, doing everything wrong, and the other, challenger John Garamendi, doing everything right. Carter selected the wrong district in which to run following redistricting, then pulled out of the campaign in a dispute with Governor Reagan, and finally returned with a lame explanation. Meanwhile, Garamendi was running a smooth, aggressive campaign. It isn't often that an incumbent is whipped by this large a margin.

District 8 (58% D-37% R)

Siegler (D)	44,609
Maybrun (R)	41,110
Marlow (P&F)	3,152

Assemblyman John Dunlap vacated this seat to run for the state Senate, and Republicans gave this race their highest Northern California priority. But the GOP's best wasn't good enough. Republican Ed Maybrun of Santa Rosa carried Napa and Sonoma counties, but Supervisor Alfred Siegler took his home county of Solano by 10,000 votes.

District 9 (53% D-38% R)

Wornum (D)	47,683
Hill (R)	41,204
Gunn (P&F)	5,448

This used to be a solid seat for Republican Bill Bagley, unsuccessful GOP candidate for controller. But the Democrats came up with a strong candidate in Marin County Supervisor Michael Wornum, and Reagan administration executive Al Hill was unable to buck both Wornum and the Democratic tide.

District 10 (54% D-40% R)

Boatwright (Inc. D)	64,632
Nemir (R)	24,899

Freshman Daniel Boatwright of Concord sent out a warning to would-be challengers with this impressive victory.

District 11 (68% D-27% R)

Knox (Inc. D)	63,725
Dietrich (AIP)	8,177

Veteran John Knox of Richmond was entrenched before redistricting. Now he has such a solid lock that he even won the Republican primary by write-in.

District 12 (57% D-35% R)

Meade (Inc. D)	61,887
Flegal (R)	44,178

Ken Meade of Berkeley was weakened through the addition to his district of a Republican hunk of Contra Costa County, but he still managed to win comfortably over former Mayor Arthur Flegal of Piedmont.

District 13 (71% D-20% R)

Miller (Inc. D)	45,265
Gingrich (R)	12,791

The mystery here is why incumbent John J. Miller of Berkeley bothered to post campaign signs.

District 14 (71% D-23% R)

Lockyer (Inc. D)	46,794
Clark (R)	12,045

Freshman Bill Lockyer of San Leandro had no GOP opponent on the primary ballot, but Alma Clark of Castro Valley qualified by write-in.

District 15 (61% D-32% R)

Bee (Inc. D)	37,789
Puccio (R)	25,857
Blattner (AIP)	3,296

Republicans thought they had an outside chance of defeating veteran Speaker pro Tempore Carlos Bee, who has been an institution in southeastern Alameda County. Though the word was spread that Bee was in poor physical condition and not able to function vigorously, he still defeated Republican S. Guy Puccio by 12,000 votes.

District 16 (70% D-20% R)

Foran (Inc. D)	31,790
Wadsworth (R)	6,283
Hudiburgh (P&F)	6,556

The most notable aspect of this contest is the fact that the Peace and Freedom candidate, Kayren Hudiburgh, outpolled Republican Norman Wadsworth while incumbent John Foran was running away with the seat.

District 17 (65% D-26% R)

Brown (Inc. D)	43,217
Graf (R)	23,507

Democrat Willie Brown worked hardest during the campaign trying to elect assemblymen who would vote for him for speaker.

District 18 (68% D-26% R)

McCarthy (Inc. D)	56,151
Faulkner (R)	17,422

For Leo T. McCarthy of San Francisco, winning reelection was the least of his worries November 5th. He was more concerned with electing colleagues who would vote to retain him as Assembly speaker.

District 19 (60% D-33% R)

Papan (Inc. D)	46,292
Rodli (R)	21,099
Stack (AIP)	3,065

Freshman Louis Papan of South San Francisco solidified his hold on this district. A close associate of Speaker McCarthy, he could rise rapidly in the Assembly (or drop completely out of favor if McCarthy were ousted).

District 20 (50% D-43% R)

Arnett (Inc. R)	56,115
Berlin (D)	31,683

The best move incumbent Dixon Arnett of Redwood City made this year was running for reelection instead of challenging Democrat Arlen Gregorio for a state Senate seat. Gregorio ran like gangbusters.

District 21 (54% D-38% R)

Calvo (D)	46,984
Jackson (R)	22,659

This was an open seat created by reapportionment. On paper, it could have been won by a Republican. But the entry into the race of popular Santa Clara County Supervisor Victor Calvo left the GOP without a chance.

District 22 (46% D-47% R)

Hayden (Inc. R)	57,077
Overhouse (D)	29,834

This is the only Republican district in Santa Clara County, a soft touch for incumbent Dick Hayden of Sunnyvale.

District 23 (62% D-30% R)

Vasconcellos (Inc. D)	46,584
Prader (R)	12,698
Fine (AIP)	3,955

Liberal John Vasconcellos of San Jose, two years ago a Republican target, now has a district in which he is invincible.

District 24 (57% D-36% R)

Egeland (D)	42,672
Tweedt (R)	29,349
Brady (AIP)	3,149

This is another open Santa Clara County district created by redistricting. By winning, Leona Egeland kept the female representation in the Legislature at two. A former lobbyist for Zero Population Growth, Egeland received strong support from women's organizations. The GOP candidate, Peter Tweedt, is a former aide to Ed Reinecke.

District 25 (64% D-28% R)

McAlister (Inc. D)	44,629
Pimentel (R)	13,730
Jaco (AIP)	2,167

The Democratic tide was running so strong in the San Jose area that incumbent Alister McAlister ran 10 points ahead of his party's registration.

District 26 (62% D-32% R)

Perino (D)	35,837
Van Dyken (R)	27,499

San Joaquin County Supervisor Carmen Perino of Stockton should have carried this district by a wider margin, suggesting that defeated GOP Assemblyman Doug Carter might have won had he chosen to run in this district instead of the 7th.

District 27 (62% D-33% R)

Thurman (Inc. D)	40,578
Bacciarini (R)	22,789

Freshman John Thurman of Modesto won his big battle in the primary. The general election was an anti-climax.

District 28 (54% D-37% R)

Murphy (Inc. R)	50,016
Fuller (D)	32,426
Garni (AIP)	6,674

Dr. Henry Fuller of Santa Cruz qualified for the ballot by write-in during the primary, but was unable to mount much of a threat against GOP caucus chairman Frank Murphy.

District 29 (54% D-40% R)

Nimmo (Inc. R)	41,625
Royer (D)	27,137
Fields (P&F)	3,101

Bill Thomas

Leona Egeland

Herschel Rosenthal

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The election and minorities

Women and racial minorities made slight gains through the November 5th election.

Women who were making a big push to increase female representation, came away with no additional office-holders. Secretary of State-elect March Fong will replace Treasurer Ivy Baker Priest as the lone female statewide office-holder. Yvonne Brathwaite Burke will remain the state's lone congresswoman. The state Senate will still be without its first female member, and there will still be two women in the Assembly — veteran Pauline Davis and new comer Leona Egeland of San Jose. Egeland, in effect, will be replacing Fong.

Here is how the racial minorities fared:

Blacks – The election of state Senator Mervyn Dymally as lieutenant governor gave California its first black to hold statewide partisan office. Dymally's Senate seat should be filled by another black, and the election of Nate Holden to the Senate will double the former black compliment there. The number of blacks in the congressional delegation will remain three (incumbents Burke, Ron Dellums and Gus Hawkins) and in the Assembly six (incumbents John Miller, Willie Brown, Leon Ralph, Bill Greene, Julian Dixon and newcomer Curtis Tucker of Inglewood).

Chicanos – For the Mexican-American political action organizations, the 1974 election was especially disappointing. Assemblyman Ray Gonzales of Bakersfield was defeated, and Julian Camacho and Al Villa lost tight races for Congress and the Assembly. But the Chicanos did retain Ed Roybal in Congress, add Alex Garcia to Ruben Ayala in the Senate and retain four assemblymen (incumbents Richard Alatorre, Joe Montoya and Peter Chacon, plus newcomer Art Torres).

Asians – March Fong will become the first statewide official of Chinese descent. In addition, Mayor Norman Mineta of San Jose will be the state's first congressman of Japanese extraction. Senator Al Song, of Korean parentage, and Assemblyman Paul Bannai, of Japanese descent, were reelected.

The Democratic trend apparently had no effect in this district, with Republican Bob Nimmo of Atascadero winning by a healthy margin.

District 30 (69% D-27% R)

Maddy (Inc. R)	30,424
Villa (D)	27,098
Cook (AIP)	2,173

Fresno City Councilman Al Villa, backed by help from the forces trying to oust Leo McCarthy as Assembly speaker, is the latest in a series of Democratic candidates unable to break the spell of Republican Ken Maddy in an overwhelmingly Democratic district.

District 31 (69% D-36% R)

Mobley (Inc. R)	46,382
Bell (D	29,026
Heely (AIP)	1,924

Registration statistics mean little in this Fresno-based district where voters call themselves Democrats and vote Republican. Fresno Councilman Chuck Bell didn't come close to giving veteran Ernie Mobley a tight race.

District 32 (69% D-37% R)

Duffy (Inc. R)	32,919
Kennedy (D)	21,892
Rider (AIP)	1,997

For Republican Gordon Duffy of Hanford, this is a close call. Last time, he had no opposition.

District 33 (69% D-37% R)

Gonzales (Inc. D)	32,872
Bill Thomas (R)	38,387

The Republicans made the defeat of freshman Ray Gonzales of Bakersfield their top priority item in 1974 legislative races. Gonzales, who had just been appointed chairman of the Assembly Education Committee, was defeated by educator Bill Thomas in an area that has a habit of ousting incumbents.

District 34 (62% D-42% R)

Chimbole (D)	34,542
Hall (R)	28,217
Ashworth (AIP)	3,995

Larry Chimbole of Palmdale proved himself the superior desert rat in this Mohave district consisting of the redistricting leftovers. The GOP candidate, Ken Hall, had the advantage or disadvantage of being the deputy director of finance in the Reagan administration. (This was known as the "Rommel district" because of its topography.)

District 35 (52% D-39% R)

Hart (D)	43,957
Terry (R)	39,861

This seat was vacated by Republican Don MacGillivray, who ran unsuccessfully for the state Senate. Democrat Gary Hart had run in the district before and had the advantage from the start over Tim Terry.

District 36 (54% D-39% R)

MacDonald (Inc. D)	49,471
Heath (R)	23,198

The Republicans have finally decided that it is a waste of money to make an all-out attempt to defeat Ken MacDonald of Ventura County. This is by far his best victory.

District 37 (49% D-44% R)

Cline (Inc. R)	43,854
Martin (D)	29,124

It would have taken a much stronger Democratic wave to have washed Republican Bob Cline of Northridge out of office.

District 38 (48% D-45% R)

Priolo (Inc. R)	50,748
Mann (D)	40,042

Reapportionment helped veteran Paul Priolo of Pacific Palisades somewhat. His victory margins in recent years have not been especially large, and he may have been hurt this time by efforts by women's organizations to help Democrat Betty Mann.

District 39 (61% D-33% R)

Keysor (Inc. D)	39,065
Elersich (R)	15,901
Singer (P&F)	1,807

Redistricting could hardly have been kinder to Jim Keysor of Sepulveda.

District 40 (61% D-33% R)

Bane (D)	39,386
Yost (R)	19,553

Democrat Tom Bane left the Assembly in 1966 to run for Congress and lost. He was replaced by Bob Moretti. With Moretti giving up the seat

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to run for governor, Bane will return to Sacramento.

District 41 (44% D-50% R)

Antonovich (Inc. R)	51,162
McQuoid (D)	22,475
Linz (AIP)	1,465

Outspoken conservative Mike Antonovich of Glendale won a tight race in the primary against colleague Newton Russell. But he might have been better off had he lost because now Russell has the inside track on the Senate seat vacated by short-term Lieutenant Governor John Harmer.

District 42 (41% D-53% R)

Lanterman (Inc. R)	48,388
McBride (D)	32,346
Harper (AIP)	2,678

Democrat Norvene McBride ran a respectable race against Frank Lanterman, an Assembly institution.

District 43 (58% D-35% R)

Berman (Inc. D)	54,827
Harwin (R)	30,018

Reapportionment was kind to freshman Howard Berman of Beverly Hills, who was on the winning side in the 1974 speakership fight and was appointed majority leader.

District 44 (61% D-30% R)

Sieroty (Inc. D)	47,009
Knickerbocker (R)	22,194

A 2-1 margin is about par for liberal Alan Sieroty of Los Angeles.

District 45 (63% D-28% R)

Rosenthal (D)	53,174
Mikol (R)	28,103
Streeter (AIP)	2,668

This is the district represented by Democrat Henry Waxman of Los Angeles, who is heading for Congress. Democrat Herschel Rosenthal won the whole ball game in the primary.

District 46 (58% D-32% R)

Warren (Inc. D)	30,891
Watts (R)	16,748

Veteran Charles Warren of Los Angeles was so confident of victory that he was in Europe for the climax of the election.

District 47 (82% D-13% R)

Bill Greene (Inc. D)	31,221
Lewis (R)	4,919

This is probably the safest Democratic district in the state. Bill Greene is seeking the Senate seat of Lieutenant Governor-elect Mervyn Dymally.

District 48 (82% D-14% R)

Ralph (Inc. D)	30,964
Neely (R)	6,968

Assembly Rules Committee Chairman Leon Ralph also is blessed with a no-contest district.

District 49 (73% D-22% R)

Dixon (Inc. D)	47,981
Riley (R)	16,037
Keller (P&F)	1,799

Redistricting made freshman Julian Dixon's safe seat even safer.

District 50 (69% D-26% R)

Tucker (D)	33,851
Holoman (R)	18,790

Democrat Frank Holoman abandoned this district to run unsuccessfully for the state Senate. His Republican brother, John, tried to keep the seat in the family, but it was a cinch for Councilman Curtis Tucker of Inglewood.

District 51 (44% D-47% R)

Beverly (Inc. R)	51,706
Brennan (D)	27,420

GOP floor leader Bob Beverly of Manhattan Beach is well entrenched in a solid Republican district.

District 52 (60% D-33% R)

Vincent Thomas (Inc. D)	35,668
Boettcher (R)	20,146

Vincent Thomas of San Pedro, dean of the Assembly, is as steady as the toll bridge in his district bearing his name.

District 53 (67% D-26% R)

Bannai (Inc. R)	25,654
Mayesh (D)	25,287

Democratic leaders thought that freshman Paul Bannai of Gardena would be fairly easy pickings. They had a whopping registration advantage and, in Jack Mayesh, a candidate backed by the potent Waxman-Berman machine. But the large Asian-American population in the district went solidly for Bannai, who is of Japanese descent.

District 54 (75% D-20% R)

Vicencia (D)	28,848
Clark (R)	10,520

After losing a tight special election in 1973, Democrat Frank Vicencia of Bellflower found a ready-made district created by reapportionment. Vicencia, who has lobbied in Sacramento for the Southern California Rapid Transit District, among other interests, is well known and popular in the Capitol.

District 55 (64% D-26% R)

Alatorre (Inc. D)	25,262
Feliz (R)	10,662

This was a laugher for Democrat Richard Alatorre of Los Angeles.

District 56 (75% D-15% R)

Torres (D)	16,267

Art Torres won the right to replace Assemblyman Alex Garcia, who is moving up to the Senate, with a primary victory in June.

Frank Vicencia

Curtis Tucker

Fred Chel

District 57 (60% D-33% R)

Cullen (Inc. D)	39,475
Waterbury (R)	14,247

This is the first election in which Democrat Mike Cullen of Long Beach has been able to breathe easily.

District 58 (55% D-38% R)

Chel (D)	44,694
Offill (R)	37,553
Marshall (AIP)	2,538

This was one of the most bitterly contested seats in the state. Incumbent Bill Bond, a Long Beach Republican, ran unsuccessfully for Congress. The Republican nominee was Sumner Offill, aide to Senator George Deukmejian. Democratic Senator Joe Kennick, fearing a head-to-head match with Deukmejian in 1976, put his resources behind Democrat Fred Chel. The 7,000-vote margin for Chel was a slight surprise.

District 59 (64% D-29% R)

Fenton (Inc. D)	43,358
Orozco (R)	19,870

The deposed Democratic floor leader, Jack Fenton, ran ahead of his party's registration.

District 60 (66% D-27% R)

Montoya (Inc. D)	30,859
McPherson (R)	13,812

Despite a tough primary, incumbent Joe Montoya of La Puente ran a strong race in the general.

District 61 (42% D-52% R)

Collier (Inc. R)	46,881
Ortell (D)	29,241
Scanlon (AIP)	3,151

Veteran Bud Collier of Monrovia hasn't had a close call since 1958.

District 62 (48% D-45% R)

Lancaster (Inc. R)	43,120
Jordan (D)	29,256

Bill Lancaster of Covina is well entrenched.

District 63 (59% D-34% R)

Gonsalves (Inc. D)	31,299
McLennan (Inc. R)	33,883
Breazeale (AIP)	2,248

Incumbents Joe Gonsalves and Robert McLennan went head-to-head in the most publicized Assembly race of the year. Freshman McLennan overcame the veteran Gonsalves' registration advantage with his leadership in the fight to end the lawmakers' early-pension bonus and with the revelation that Gonsalves had not reported all his campaign contributions.

District 64 (47% D-47% R)

Bauer (D)	30,524
Campbell (R)	41,435

This district was apportioned to order for former Assemblyman Bill Campbell, who had quit the Legislature to run unsuccessfully for Los Angeles supervisor.

District 65 (54% D-41% R)

McVittie (D)	27,268
Vander Poel (R)	26,236
Vogel (AIP)	2,278

In this district, the Democratic trend was probably conclusive. Republicans thought they would win the seat, but Democrat Bill McVittie of Upland took the squeaker. Had the third-party candidate's vote gone Republican, McVittie would have lost.

District 66 (64% D-30% R)

Goggin (D)	36,251
Wolfinbarger (R)	14,047

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Democrat Terry Goggin won this seat by defeating incumbent John Quimby in the primary.

District 67 (47% D-47% R)

Lewis (Inc. R)	46,374
Johnson (D)	29,474
Wahl (AIP)	3,368

The Riverside-San Bernardino area went more Democratic than usual, but it didn't bother incumbent Jerry Lewis of Highland.

District 68 (56% D-37% R)

Ingalls (Inc. D)	44,246
Shepard (R)	20,504

Freshman Walter Ingalls of Riverside was given only token opposition.

District 69 (46% D-47% R)

Briggs (Inc. R)	42,272
Mandel (D)	35,652
Solomon (AIP)	3,329

Republican John Briggs of Fullerton used to be considered one of the safest members of the Assembly. The closeness of the race was a shocker.

District 70 (39% D-53% R)

Nestande (R)	53,753
Endreson (D)	27,516
De Gaston	3,524

After years of trying, Republican Bruce Nestande of Anaheim finally found a seat he couldn't lose.

District 71 (54% D-39% R)

Carpenter (D)	36,471
Bark (R)	31,154
Swenson (AIP)	3,291

Democrat Ken Cory abandoned this district to run for controller. The result was a Democratic candidate Paul Carpenter of Cypress, who was more conservative than the Republican, Bob Bark of La Palma. This area of Orange County was headed Democratic, and Carpenter won.

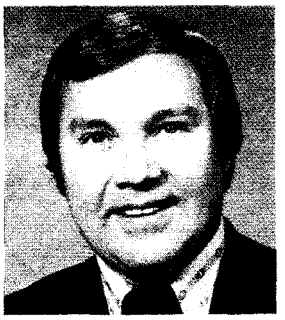
District 72 (51% D-40% R)

Robinson (D)	36,292
McKeever (R)	22,869
Adams (AIP)	5,122

Imagine a Democrat winning a seat in what was once the Republican heartland of California. Richard Robinson of Santa Ana won a convincing victory over former professional football linebacker Marlin McKeever, who should have been used to playing a defensive game. He couldn't cope with a well organized offense generated by the Cory organization. McKeever's vote didn't even match his GOP registration.

Paul Carpenter

Tom Suitt



Bill McVittie

District 73 (44% D-48% R)

Burke (Inc. R)	48,295
Mangers (D)	46,884

This is another Orange County surprise. Incumbent Bob Burke could have been expected to win handsomely, but Huntington Beach school trustee Dennis Mangers almost picked him off.

District 74 (33% D-59% R)

Badham (Inc. R)	69,324
Lewis (D)	37,276

This is the most Republican district in the state, but Democrat Sueanne Lewis ran ahead of registration against incumbent Bob Badham of Newport Beach.

District 75 (48% D-45% R)

Seeley (Inc. R)	38,890
Suitt (D)	40,393

This was easily the biggest upset of the year. Republican Ray Seeley of Blythe looked so entrenched that nobody filed against him in the primary. Businessman Tom Suitt of Indian Wells qualified for the general-election ballot by write-in, however, then ran an aggressive campaign against Seeley. Suitt was the beneficiary of a Democratic wave in Riverside County, and he made up Seeley's advantage in the San Diego County portion of the district by taking Imperial County.

District 76 (40% D-51% R)

Craven (Inc. R)	77,601
Smith (D)	40,077

Freshman Bill Craven is the only Republican left in the San Diego County delegation to the Assembly, and it looks as though he will remain awhile.

District 77 (48% D-44% R)

Wilson (Inc. D)	55,346
Bollman (R)	25,317
Smith (AIP)	2,470

Incumbent Bob Wilson of La Mesa was hurt by redistricting, but he more than made up the losses with a strong campaign in a Democratic year.

District 78 (51% D-39% R)

Kapiloff (Inc. D)	51,938
Smith (R)	28,639
Hicks (AIP)	2,717

Democrat Larry Kapiloff of San Diego proved himself wrong when he predicted his vote against capital punishment would cost him his seat. The voters were apparently much more impressed with the leadership ability he displayed in taxation and other matters in his first term in Sacramento.

District 79 (59% D-31% R)

Chacon (Inc. D)	32,168
Albritten (R)	16,962
Emery (AIP)	2,466

Incumbent Peter Chacon of San Diego ran ahead of registration in his strongest race yet.

District 80 (54% D-37% R)

Deddeh (Inc. D)	42,393
Ross (R)	15,380
Bomher (AIP)	2,866

Waddie Deddeh usually runs ahead of registration, but this time he won virtually by acclamation.

SUMMARY: Many of the Democratic victories came in districts that could go Republican in future elections. The GOP will have to mount a stupendous six-year campaign to have a chance at redistricting after the 1980 census. For the Democrats, the biggest problem is too many seats — a situation that can lead to internecine warfare that can tear the party apart. The warfare began with the campaign by the forces of Willie Brown to wrest the speakership from Leo McCarthy.

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Formula for reviving the GOP elephant

By LYN NOFZIGER

Can Republicans in California and elsewhere across the nation make a comeback in 1976 or even by 1978? This is a question Republican leaders and political experts are asking themselves and each other in the wake of the beating the Grand Old Party took November 5th at the hands of Democrats at every level of partisan government and in every section of the country.

Opinions are divided. Many Republicans point to past GOP comebacks, notably that of 1966 following the debacle of 1964. What is overlooked, however, is that the Republican comebacks, even the big ones, almost always fall short. Not since 1952 have the Republicans controlled the Congress, and only on a few occasions have they had a majority of the governors.

The comeback record is not good, and what there is of it is usually short-lived, such as the Republican legislative comeback in California of 1968 — a bare majority lasting only two years.

Third party?

Many conservative Republicans around the nation were talking last month of giving up on the Republican Party and forming a third party. All they are looking for is a leader. Not George Wallace's kind of leadership, but Ronald Reagan's. Unfortunately for them, Reagan has made it clear that he is not prepared to offer the leadership — at least not at present. And no other conservative in public office or in the public eye appears to have the spark of leadership necessary to form a solid third party that would have a chance of winning or at least becoming the biggest minority party.

Unless one appears or Reagan changes his mind, the Republicans, conservative and liberal, seem to have no other choice than to rally around President Ford in the hope that he will develop the leadership spark that can resuscitate the GOP. Off the President's record as minority leader in the House of Representatives, as vice president and now as president, the likelihood that that spark will develop seems at best slim.

Does this mean Republicans must give up and face the future condemned to be forever an ever-dwindling minority, unable to lead or legislate or provide more than token opposition? Not at all. There is hope for the Republican Party, but only if it changes its method of operating and its approach to electing people to office, which is what parties are all about in the first place.

For a long time the Republican Party has been the party of organization, and sometimes this approach has met with a modicum of success. Cal-Plan was a tribute to the Republican ability to organize. In three elections in six years, Cal-Plan brought California Republicans from minority status to control of both houses of the Legislature. Its record since 1968 — this year not a single Cal-Plan district sent a Republican to the Legislature — makes one wonder, however, whether it was Cal-Plan or the influence of Reagan's first two years as governor that brought that one-time majority.

The Republican comeback across the nation in 1966, only two years after the Democratic tidal wave of 1964, has long been attributed to the nuts-and-bolts politics of the national chairman of the time, Ray Bliss, who also gets some credit for the Nixon victory of 1968. And talent no doubt played a part in the GOP successes of both those years. For the fact is that, except for tremendous organizational and fund-raising ability, all the Republicans really have had going for them politically are the mistakes, feuds and caliber of candidates contributed by the Democratic Party. Republicans do not have — on a year-in, year-out basis — the support of the voting public.

In other words, when Republicans win they win largely because of Democratic blunders, Republican money and organizational ability, and the current climate of opinion on any given election day.

People-oriented Democrats

Most of the time, public opinion is with the Democrats. And there is no real secret to explain why: Democrats as a

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party and as politicians are people oriented; they talk in terms of doing something for the people or at least for segments of the population. Their knowledge of economics may be faulty, they may be "soft" on crime and welfare, and too trusting of possible enemies abroad, but their hearts are in the right place as far as most voters are concerned. It is only when the Democrats stray from their usual path — Harry Truman in Korea, Lyndon Johnson in Vietnam, and George McGovern, who forgot that you can't promise too much to too few without hurting your standing with too many — that Republicans have a chance.

Republicans, on the other hand, talk in terms of things and philosophies instead of people. They are "aginners". They are against welfare (against people with problems), against big-spending programs (against helping those in trouble), and against consumerism if it hurts business and profits (approval of public rip-offs by industry and big business). Moreover, when Republicans are for something it's apt to be something like a big national defense budget — funds that Democrats can say should be spent on people.

What Republicans have never learned to do is to couch their beliefs, their philosophy, their programs in terms of helping the people. Until they learn to do this they will always be a minority party.

Sensing a mood

Republicans also lack persistence. They quit too easily. Democrats over the years have learned well the Fabian philosophy of gaining a goal a step at a time. And their persistence has brought the United States Medicare, food stamps, federal aid to education — and a $300 billion deficit. And that is why, even though there may be no public demand for it, we will also have — sooner or later — national health insurance. Where is the program Republicans pushed five years ago that they are still pushing? It doesn't exist — at least, not in the public eye.

Another reason Republicans lose is that they don't read the public mood as well as Democrats do. When Democrats sense a shift in political winds they quickly tack about. It was humorous this year to see habitual big-spenders among the Democrats running for re-election as fiscal conservatives and opponents of inflation — humorous, until the election results were in. They did the same thing in 1970, when they suddenly became the party of law and order.

In short, people who make the Democratic Party work seem to be instinctively better politicians than are most Republicans. They are better at sensing issues, and better at expounding on them, keeping the opposition largely on the defensive.

Democrats' scarehead

Does this mean the GOP is doomed always to be the second party or, alternatively, to fade away altogether? Not at all. What it does mean is that it needs to shift its approach and its method of operation. It needs to shift away from its largely organizational approach and adopt instead an approach that involves massive and continuous information programs at every level, and especially in non-election years. Republicans need to start disseminating information about their philosophy, about issues, and about their political opposition, the Democrats. Through such a program, they must create a new climate of opinion — one favorable to their outlook, one that says Republicans are good and right and that Democrats are bad and wrong.

The amazing thing is that Republicans have watched the Democrats do a successful job of this for years and have never figured out that they should be doing the same thing.

Shortly after Herbert Hoover was elected president, the Democrats set out to make him a villain. Here was a man who came into office with a reputation as one of the world's great humanitarians. When he left office, his reputation was that of an uncaring monster who single-handedly brought on the depression. Until his death, the Democrats ran against him on that one issue, and for the most part successfully. For two generations Herbert Hoover was the symbol of the Republican Party in the eyes of millions of voters, and Republicans were carbon copies of Herbert Hoover.

Taking on the Democrats

Fortunately for the Democrats, they now have a new scarehead — Richard Nixon — and there is little doubt that they will run against him for another generation. Never mind incidents of Democratic corruption, the symbol of corruption in government for years to come will be Richard Nixon. Democrats will see to that. They seldom miss an opportunity.

And Republicans seldom avail themselves of one. For instance, if the Republicans are the party of depression, inflation and corruption, then surely the Democrats are the party of war, welfare and crime. But the few Republicans who timidly venture to say this aloud are quickly knocked down — and not primarily by Democrats, but by fellow Republicans who feel such criticism is just not cricket.

Why, for instance, shouldn't President Ford have warned that an influx into the Congress of liberal Democrats could endanger the peace? The record of this century shows that every Democrat president has involved this country in war. Furthermore, Democrats never hesitate to say that an influx of Republicans will be bad for the nation. Why, then, shouldn't Republicans take that same tack?

But no, when any Republican ventures to go on the attack the only sound louder than the Democratic cries of anguish are the Republican cries of self-righteous indignation at such conduct by their own party member.

If Republican Party leaders are ever to build a majority party, they must ignore such criticism and push ahead. Unless they are satisfied to remain a minority.

The key: propaganda

The secret of successful propaganda — whether selling cigarettes, soda pop or politics — is repetition, saying the same thing, again and again and again. Republicans need to learn this lesson and practice it. If they don't, they will remain a minority.

An effective propaganda program is not cheap. Neither is the price of organization. The question must be: Where can the party spend its money best? To be sure, the results of organization can be seen more quickly than the results of propaganda. And organization is a lot less controversial; you don't have to worry about making someone else in the party angry. But the fact is that organization alone is a total failure as a means toward getting party superiority.

It is time for the Republican Party to quit trying to win by organizing the same old minority every two years and instead begin trying to convince a new majority every day. Only in that way will the Republicans remain a viable organization within the American political system.

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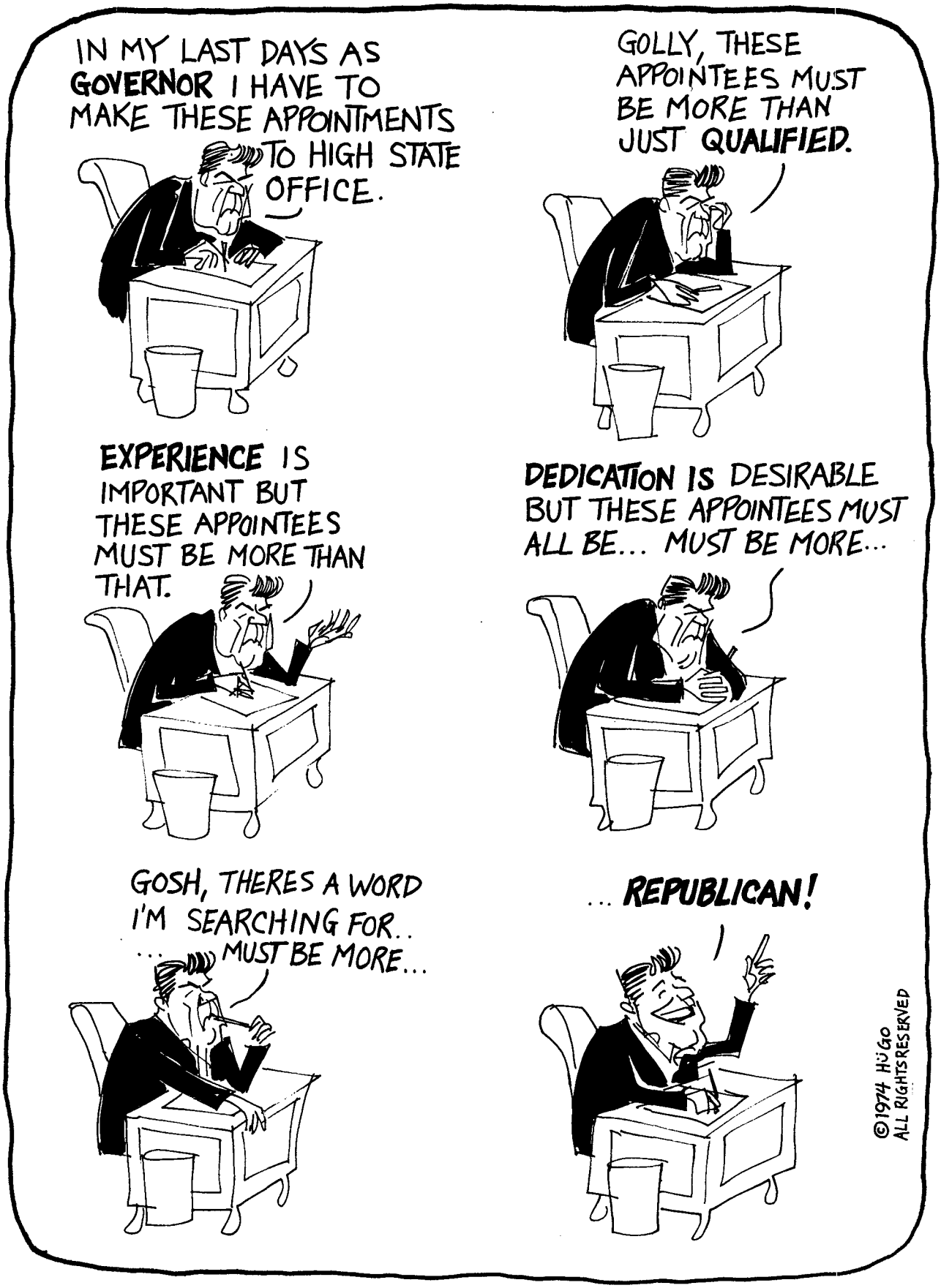
Caucus

by HüGo


IN MY LAST DAYS AS GOVERNOR I HAVE TO MAKE THESE APPOINTMENTS TO HIGH STATE OFFICE.
GOLLY, THESE APPOINTEES MUST BE MORE THAN JUST QUALIFIED.
EXPERIENCE IS IMPORTANT BUT THESE APPOINTEES MUST BE MORE THAN THAT.
DEDICATION IS DESIRABLE BUT THESE APPOINTEES MUST ALL BE... MUST BE MORE...
GOSH, THERES A WORD I'M SEARCHING FOR.. ... MUST BE MORE...
... REPUBLICAN!
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A ready-made Democratic program: all those bills that Reagan vetoed

The two-year congressional style legislative session began its first full test this month. Though the Assembly and Senate followed a two-year calendar in 1973-74 as a result of the voters' approval of a constitutional amendment in 1972, that initial run-through was marked by some elements of transition.

A year ago, for example, there was no December organizing session. The Legislature did convene, to enact a measure to get the Reagan administration off the hook with the federal government in allowing the Social Security Administration to take over payment of aid to the elderly, the blind and the disabled. But that was an extraordinary session, not a part of the 1973-74 calendar. A final aspect of the transition from the former annual session to full implementation of the two-year session is the existence of a flock of lame ducks who will receive a salary in December, since they were elected through 1974, though they will not be members of the 1975-76 Legislature, which began deliberations December 2, 1974.

This year, the several days spent in Sacramento starting December 2nd, were aimed at:

- Swearing in the newcomers — 23 new Assembly members and five new senators.
- Resolving the leadership issue in both houses.
- Appointing committee members.
- And beginning introduction of legislation.

The latter activity will enable the lawmakers to begin committee hearings on reconvening in January, since the required 30-day delay between introduction of a measure and its eligibility to be considered in committee will have passed over the holidays. Together, the housekeeping session is designed to get the Legislature off to a faster start.

One newcomer to the Assembly, Michael Wornum, said he would not assume office until the new year, however. Wornum, chairman of the Marin County Board of Supervisors, wants to await Reagan's departure from office so that the incoming Democratic governor, Jerry Brown, can appoint the successor in environmentally conscious Marin County, where Wornum is identified generally with conservationist positions. Such delay could trigger court action.

Leadership question

The leaders of both houses expected challenges for the top jobs. As this is written in November, however, both Assembly Speaker Leo McCarthy of San Francisco and Senate President pro Tempore James Mills of San Diego seemed likely to hang onto their bipartisan majorities. (The challengers, Assemblyman Willie Brown and Senator George Zenovich, came out of the November election no better off than they went into it, reportedly, in terms of commitments. And Zenovich, though declaring himself in the running, flew off to the Soviet Union for three weeks in November rather than stay close to any wavering senators, which is what Mills was doing.)

Leo McCarthy Willie Brown

The issues before the Legislature in 1975 are not likely to change significantly, whoever leads the two heavily Democratic chambers. With an activist Democrat heading the executive branch, the legislative leadership is starting work anticipating harmony between the two branches, and even greater accomplishments. (Harmony was not a characteristic, however, of the last Democratic administration and Legislature, as Pat Brown has undoubtedly reminded his son.)

Priority issues

The leadership's checklist of priority issues reads in part like the listing of the preceding session's unfinished business. Some of it was left unfinished because of the known opposition of Governor Reagan and his ability to get Senate Republicans to block distasteful measures. Among the topics sure to figure prominently in 1975:

Labor. Two big issues remain to be dealt with — public-employee collective-bargaining rights and farmworker labor relations. The spadework has been done on both, and Jerry Brown is receptive to the proposals Reagan opposed. For him, as for McCarthy and Mills, collective-bargaining rights should include a procedure for resolving impasses — code language for the right to strike, which though not accorded in law is taking place with increasing frequency. [See "State faces time for decision on public-employee relations," *CJ*, May 1973; and "Government as boss," June 1974.] Exceptions may have to be made for public-safety employees, however, according to Brown's statements during the campaign. On farm labor, McCarthy favors a broad approach, more than just covering procedures for recognizing union representation. [See "Prospects dim for farm-labor legislation," *CJ* September 1973, for background.]

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George Zenovich James Mills

Education. A new means of financing public education to eliminate inequities will have to be worked out. (The state Supreme Court has criticized the present financing, based upon local property values, for producing unequal educational opportunities. A task force studying the question for State Superintendent of Public Instruction Wilson Riles has been at work on a proposal for a statewide property tax for education to replace use of local property taxes to finance education. This tax would be coupled with a $1.4 billion infusion of state general fund money. Speaker McCarthy opposes use of the property tax, however, and is inclined to look toward allocations from general state tax revenues to overcome inequities. Both approaches will doubtless be considered, and Mills thinks both means may have to be combined to achieve equality.

Environment. The statewide coastal plan called for in passage of Proposition 20 in 1972 will be coming before the Legislature in 1976, and McCarthy expects to set his house to doing homework on it this year; a comprehensive statewide land-use plan would probably not be enacted before adoption of the coastal zone plan. Mills will press for reform of air-pollution-control districts and creation of the South Coast Air Basin that Reagan twice vetoed.

Transportation. The state's transportation plan is to be submitted to the Legislature in 1975, and both McCarthy in the Assembly and Mills in the Senate will work to see that it provides for development of mass-transportation systems. Mills, who is one of the Legislature's foremost advocates of mass transportation, would also like to see more money made available, and two prime sources are Washington and highway-use taxes. (Congress has before it the proposed National Mass Transportation Assistance Act.) There will likely be some changes proposed in the Southern California Rapid Transit District, which lost a vote to build a mass-transit system over the next decade or so. Mills plans to seek creation of a transit development agency for San Diego and thinks that something similar might improve Los Angeles' transit-planning ability.

Consumerism. A carry-over topic that may bear fruit in 1975 is no-fault automobile insurance, which is also likely to be pushed in Congress. McCarthy favors the concept but wants to be sure that it is consumer-oriented — that is, results in reduced premiums as well as quicker payoffs. (Two proposals met death in the Senate in August after having cleared the Assembly.) Mills expects the current enthusiasm for counting and weighing the advertised contents of goods to lead to legislation on regulating short-weighting.

Regional Government. Assemblyman John Knox of Contra Costa County will be back with his proposal to create a regional government in the Bay Area, and chances of passage are improved.

Economic problems

Overriding these issues is the economy. Both Mills and McCarthy acknowledge that the federal government holds the initiative in this field, but McCarthy sees more vigorous state action to retrain workers who need to renew job skills. As far as finding additional jobs requiring their use, however, he concedes that there is not much the state can do if the economy — and particularly the construction industry — continues to slump.

Both Mills and McCarthy feel that a much stronger lobbying effort can be made in Washington on behalf of California, whose congressional delegation is noted for its provincial orientation toward district issues at the expense of statewide concerns. [See "Californians in Congress," *CJ*, February 1974.] The Reagan administration played down the importance of a Washington outpost, and the Legislature last year reduced its efforts in the nation's capital. McCarthy and Mills expect to enlist Jerry Brown's support in launching a coordinated effort.

There is also one strong carryover from the election reforms that figured prominently in 1974, which produced the Waxman-Dymally Campaign Disclosure Act (superseded by the voters with passage last June of Proposition 9). McCarthy and Proposition 9's chief architects, the public-interest lobby Common Cause, are seeking agreement on a plan to use public funds to finance political campaigns. This is the last element of Common Cause's reform package, and it is probably the most complex to make work equitably. (For example, how do you decide which candidates in a primary get what amount of public funds?) Perhaps an initial plan will aim at financing the less complicated general election. In any case, McCarthy considers the subject a "personal commitment". Mills supports publicly financed campaigns but distrusts Common Cause's capabilities and motives; he expects a number of proposals in this field, however.

New faces of 1975

The fact that the Assembly has 55 Democrats and only 25 Republicans and the Senate 25 Democrats and 14 (soon likely to be 15) Republicans may not offer all the advantages that partisan numbers suggest. Democrats are famous for internecine warfare. McCarthy feels little inclined to grouse over that prospect, however. "That's the kind of problem I like," he commented. As for the upper house, the new faces coming in appear likely to shift that body's more conservative orientation somewhat to the left. Mills calls the Senate "a clearly more liberal house" while not discounting the traditional independent-mindedness of its members.

But there is one fundamental principle underlying any attempt at forecasting political activity: Expect the unexpected. The freshman assemblyman, Robert McLennan, who latched onto the legislators' early-retirement pension bonus as an issue that vigorously twanged a public nerve, will be back. And he's talking about forcing the lawmakers to spell out the money they spend on themselves.

So the question to keep in mind is: What will be the early-retirement-pension-bonus issue of 1975?

BRUCE KEPPEL

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Is Reagan taking too much credit for 'slaying' the welfare monster?

By JULIE THOMPSON

Governor Ronald Reagan has been traveling about the United States pointing to his administration's modifications of California's welfare program as an example of how the "welfare monster" can be tamed if not slain. In October 1971, after enactment of the Welfare Reform Act, caseloads and expenditures did drop, and only now are they beginning to return to pre-reform levels. The question, however, is what caused the reductions. And the answer now appears to be that other factors were involved — a combination of factors that might not be duplicated elsewhere, even in California.

The Welfare Reform Act was a compromise between proposals by the Republican administration and the Democratic-controlled Legislature. It concentrated on the large group of child-related recipients — Aid to Families With Dependent Children (AFDC), which is broken down into two categories: Unemployed (AFDC-U) and family groups (AFDC-FG). The federal government has since taken over administration of the adult welfare categories — aid to the aged, the blind and the disabled.

The Reagan administration has made the point that some administrative, non-legislative reforms were started in March 1971 — before adoption of the welfare legislation. There is some validity to this contention, especially in tightening application-eligibility procedures. The administration indicated that its intent was to cut off grants to those at the top of the income ladder and disperse the savings among those on the bottom rungs — whom Reagan calls "the truly needy". Able-bodied recipients — all adult males, plus mothers with children older than 5 — were told that they must accept work in employment programs or lose their grants.

Provisions expressing this intent were enacted in the bill. A flat-grant schedule (eliminating a system employing a "maximum participating base", a headache to administrators since its inception in the 1930s) raised benefits to the "truly needy" and reduced grants to those with other income. The Legislature assured a general rise in benefits by rejecting an "equitable apportionments" plan in the administration's original bill and adding an annual cost-of-living increase. (Under equitable apportionments, a total fixed appropriation would be passed for welfare, and grants would be adjusted downward if the caseload increased.) Work-related expenses were limited to a maximum of $50 a month after the administration provided examples of working recipients who were getting $1,000 a month by adding expenses to their basic grants. Cooperation between the administration and Democrats in the Legislature led to a generally accepted change in the area of grant schedules, to the credit of the Republicans who initiated the move.

The author is a free-lance writer based in Sacramento.

Effect on caseload

The decline in AFDC caseload after the act took effect can be attributed, in part, to the revised grant schedule [*Table 1*]. Recipients at the top were cut off, undoubtedly including some perpetrators of fraud. The number of new welfare applications also fell [*Table 2*] from the previous year. A prime cause may have been the scare effect of the Governor's campaign against welfare in 1971, but at the same time federal laws were enacted extending unemployment benefits an additional 13 weeks to a possible total of 39 weeks; this allowed more potential AFDC-U recipients a longer time to find a job and stay off the welfare rolls.

The drop in the number of AFDC-U recipients corresponds directly with the state's unemployment rate [*Table 3*]. In August 1971, the Nixon administration ordered a temporary wage-price freeze. Employment improved, and in California the unemployment rate decreased from a high of 8.8 percent in 1971 to 7.0 percent in 1973. This was just the time that the Reagan administration was taking credit for reducing the AFDC caseload. AFDC-U declined steadily through June 1974 as thousands of unemployed parents found jobs and took their families off welfare. Although unemployment averaged 8.8 percent in 1971, monthly figures show higher percentages in the spring and declining percentages in the rest of the year. AFDC-U figures follow a similar pattern. Both the unemployment and caseload declines began *before* enactment of the reform act, and the trend continued steadily.

Migration decreases

Another factor that helped keep the welfare caseload from rising was a low level of migration into the state — at least by comparison with the 1960s [*Table 4*]. The word started to spread in the late 1960s that California

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TABLE 1: **FALL AND RISE OF AFDC CASELOAD**

State budget documents show these statistics for payments to children:

	Number of recipients			Total cost (in millions)		
	1971-72 (actual)	1972-73 (actual)	1973-74 (estimated)	1971-72 (actual)	1972-73 (actual)	1973-74 (estimated)
Family groups	1,332,155	1,287,294	1,346,575	$974	$953	$1,042
Unemployed	216,862	185,918	180,755	159	127	129
Institutions	34,488	31,192	30,800	69	70	74
TOTALS	**1,583,505**	**1,504,404**	**1,558,130**	**$1,202**	**$1,150**	**$1,245**

was no longer the promised land of employment, and the migration figures of the 1970s reflect that realization. In any case, lower migration had the double effect of allowing California to hire from its own unemployment pool while keeping migrants off the unemployment and welfare rolls.

At about the time the Reagan campaign for enactment of the reform act was getting under way, the federal government was trying to stimulate the California economy. The state received new defense contracts, and Lockheed Aircraft Corporation was bailed out of probable bankruptcy by a $250 million loan guaranteed by the federal government. (In the Los Angeles-Long Beach area, unemployment dropped from 7.8 percent in 1972 to 6.5 percent the next year.) Thus, the change in the overall tone of the California economy played a significant part in reducing the AFDC-U caseload. And this reduction would have occurred whether or not the Welfare Reform Act had been passed.

Job-placement programs

But what of the programs relating to job placements for AFDC recipients?

The Community Work Experience Program (CWEP) was expected to help implement the Reagan plan by requiring all able-bodied adults to accept at least 20 hours of work a week in order to receive aid. The salary, set at the minimum-wage level, is deducted from the monthly grant. The state Employment Development Department (EDD), which administers the program, offered these statistics on job placements of welfare recipients in regular jobs:

1973-74	75,705
1972-73	57,178
1971-72	25,448
1970-71	15,667
TOTAL	**173,998**

The department claims that there has been an increase in the number of recipients employed in the 35 counties participating in the program — and a much poorer employment record among welfare families in the remaining 13 counties. The difference is attributed to the effectiveness of the program.

An entirely different picture emerges, however, in a detailed review made by state Auditor General Harvey Rose for the first four months of 1974. The findings:

- Of a planned 58,776 participants for the first full year of the program, no more than 1,134 people were placed, and only 1,040 had participated in the first nine months of the second year.
- Although the Legislature intended that the program operate as a demonstration project, no control-group was drawn from the same population, no reporting system was used to show how many individuals entered and left the program, and no records were kept of how much state and local staff time was devoted to run the program.
- Not taking into account an estimated minimum of 56 percent overstatement of the number of individuals placed (because of inaccurate reporting systems), no more than six-tenths of one percent of California's welfare recipients were ever placed under the program — and those placed had an average tenure of 5.6 months.

Rose's evaluation also states that "considerable additional evidence suggests the insignificant impact of the program." A legislative staff survey found that only 262 CWEP participants later found jobs, most of them farm workers. As a result of these reports, the Legislature this year enacted a bill — AB 3508 (Foran) — abolishing the program; Reagan, however, vetoed the bill, saying the results so far "indicate that the tests should continue."

Public jobs

Another employment program operating simultaneously, the Career Opportunity Development or COD, has met with relatively great success. COD places recipients

TABLE 2: **UNEMPLOYMENT AND WELFARE**

	California unemployment rate	Total AFDC applications	New AFDC-U applications
1967	5.7	144,648	33,136
1968	5.4	162,475	34,408
1969	5.2	211,313	46,851
1970	7.2	319,187	97,302
1971	8.8	285,537	87,737
1972	7.6	252,767	66,361
1973	7.0	248,973	56,341

Sources: EDD, Senate Office of Research, HRD.

TABLE 3: **UNEMPLOYMENT AND WELFARE IN 1971**

Month	Unemployment rate	AFDC-U caseload
January	9.0	66,000
February	8.6	67,000
March	9.0	72,000
April	9.2	68,000
May	9.3	65,000
June	9.1	62,000
July	8.8	58,000
August	8.9	56,000
September	8.7	54,000
October	8.5	52,000
November	8.0	50,000
December	8.1	51,000

Sources: EDD, Senate Office of Research, HRD.

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in public jobs, by-passing some of the regular placement requirements such as education and experience. It also has the built-in advantage of providing the opportunity for advancement within civil service, allowing recipients to apply in the normal way for higher positions. The average trainee salary is $473 a month, which is raised to $554 when the job becomes permanent.

These are the placement figures for COD as of June 30, 1974:

	Jobs Under Contract	Persons Hired	Jobs Now Filled	Permanent Jobs Filled
State	3,185	2,532	686	1,074
Local	1,765	956	638	201
TOTAL	4,950	3,488	1,324	1,275

Fully two-thirds of the trainees have advanced into permanent jobs. For the current fiscal year, 3,882 jobs were developed and 1,470 recipients placed. But the State Personnel Board, which administers the program, estimates that at least twice as many jobs could be contracted annually if more funds were available. The program was funded during its first two years by $5.5 million in federal grants for the Work Incentive (WIN) program, matched equally by state funds. When the federal government then reduced its appropriation to $5 million instead of increasing it to an anticipated $8.8 million, the Governor vetoed a legislative augmentation to maintain funding at $11 million. (In "Catch 22" fashion, the Department of Finance refused to recommend funding unfilled contracts, while COD is unable to fill unfunded contracts.) The final budget was approved at $7 million, leaving 2,412 positions under contract unfilled. According to a legislative staff report, the administration's COD funding policy could, over five years, cost the state $20 million in welfare savings.

Overstated savings

Administration claims of a $1 billion savings in welfare as a result of the Welfare Reform Act are greatly overstated. These calculations were based on extrapolations from the substantial monthly increases in caseload during the high unemployment period of early 1971, and disregarded the unemployment cycle and its relationship to welfare caseload. In March 1971, Reagan estimated that, without reform, California welfare rolls could expand from 2.4 million recipients to three million by July 1972.

But, from March through October, AFDC caseloads had actually dropped by 12,340 families *without* enactment of the reform act. Total caseload reduction has been about 48,000 between 1971-72 and 1973-74. Monetarily, the state now spends more on welfare than it ever did [*Table 1*].

The administration's emphasis on eliminating fraud was incorporated in many of the act's provisions. Lawyers within the administration and the Legislature waged a battle of technical jargon before the final form of the bill was written. Eleven major provisions were tested in court actions, resulting in few being implemented. The latest tally shows that in 40 major lawsuits arising out of the act, recipients have won 32 and the state eight.

One that was implemented — the relatives' responsibility clause — was met with a storm of public criticism as middle-class families found themselves required to take over the financial burdens of poorer relatives. At the end of the 1973 legislative session, the Reagan administration found itself over a barrel in negotiating with then-Assemblyman John L. Burton over the level of welfare aid. One of the prices Reagan had to pay for a compromise was a return of the relatives' responsibility law to its pre-reform status. [*CJ*, January 1974.] Another anti-fraud program — using a computer to cross-check recipients' reported income and their employment records — has almost been abandoned; no figures are available on the program's effectiveness. Some other anti-fraud devices were invalidated by the federal Department of Health, Education and Welfare or are still being challenged in court. Others are playing only a miniscule role in reducing caseloads.

Whose program?

The Reagan administration welfare program, which has taken hold as a political "plus" nationally, is based on the assumption that welfare is not so much a program that poor people need for survival as one that is "used" by those not truly in need. The Reagan approach has such political appeal that it was adopted by Governor-elect Jerry Brown in this year's gubernatorial campaign. Because welfare costs constitute such a major portion of the state budget, it is popular to reduce aid expenditures and transfer the appropriations to such fields as environmental and consumer protection without raising

TABLE 4: MIGRATION TO CALIFORNIA

	Civilian Population	New Migration
1963	17,198,000	357,000
1964	17,714,000	315,000
1965	18,182,000	263,000
1966	18,499,000	180,000
1967	18,871,000	233,000
1968	19,147,000	128,000
1969	19,458,000	121,000
1970	19,690,000	15,000
1971	19,960,000	44,000
1972	20,218,000	55,000
1973	20,461,000	55,000

Source: Department of Finance.

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taxes. The working, taxpaying Californian struggling to raise children in these days of rampant inflation resents the food stamps, free medical care and other benefits provided to welfare recipients. Thus, there is great appeal to a program that is designed to reduce caseloads by forcing the poor to go to work.

But what is the other side of the coin? What is the makeup of the low-income family and its social and economic problems?

There is a significant trend toward one-parent families under AFDC, and more often than not that parent is a woman. On the average, a woman earns 60 percent as much as a man. The birth rate is down, decreasing from three children per welfare family a decade ago to 2.2 youngsters today. This is a major factor in the welfare mother's ability to obtain and keep work outside the home. There is a conflict between the benefits of providing child care at home and the status Americans confer on a family's breadwinner. The AFDC program, expressly for children, penalizes the parent as the recipient of the children's aid. The welfare child in California receives almost $800 a year through the parent for sustenance, yet the same child receives about $1,100 a year in education programs on entering school. In other words, the welfare mother is paid much less to raise her child than the schools are paid to educate the child about 25 hours a week. The welfare mother is given little opportunity for adequate employment, and she is the first fired when jobs become scarce. The Reagan administration was not sympathetic to this point of view. It even was slow in organizing the child-care-center programs included in the Welfare Reform Act, and the programs were transferred to the Department of Education for implementation.

The job cycle

But while the administration takes more credit for reforming welfare than perhaps it deserves, there is agreement even among the Governor's critics that the program did produce at least modest accomplishments. Declared the nonpartisan legislative analyst, A. Alan Post: "I think the Legislature took some of the rough edges off the Reagan proposal and made it a much better program. But the net effect was good, and it would not have happened if the Governor's real concern had not turned the program around."

Where does welfare go from here? In the 1960s, Americans became saturated with aid programs, with the Lyndon Johnson War on Poverty in full battle-dress and welfare-rights organizations starting to flex legal muscle. The reaction was the Reagan reform program. But through both these efforts, the basic problem was not eliminated: The poor still need more help, and it must be provided in a way that will not offend the middle-class taxpayer. Somehow, the poor must be brought into the employment mainstream. For it is the job cycle perhaps more than any other factor that affects the rise and fall of the welfare rolls.

It was said . . .

I think a lot of people have the idea that politics is crooked because politicians go around calling each other crooks.

. . . by Assemblywoman March K. Fong, secretary of state-elect.

We lost because the Republican Party in California failed to motivate and mobilize its own people.

. . . by defeated Lieutenant Governor John Harmer, announcing his candidacy for vice chairman of the party's state central committee.

He expressed himself to me as a man who believes in holding the line.

. . . by Governor Reagan in answering a student's question on the spending proclivities of Governor-elect Edmund G. Brown Jr.

If the problems are not faced now, then we'll have no alternative to cutting our services or doing away with a medical school.

. . . by UC Regent Robert O. Reynolds, commenting on the "horrendous costs" of running the University's five medical schools.

Most of the more powerful and significant boards and commissions have never had women represented.

. . . by Pamela Faust, executive director of the California Commission on the Status of Women, advising women to write Governor-elect Edmund G. Brown Jr. to recommend women for the 2,000 appointments he must fill.

With the present economic concerns, growing inflation and very serious unemployment problems, every indication I get is that the public is still maintaining a very high interest in environmental concerns.

. . . by Russell E. Train, administrator of the federal Environmental Protection Agency, speaking to the Comstock Club in Sacramento.

This was a vote of anger and disappointment, and in their blanket condemnation of so many Republican office-holders the people have punished the innocent along with the guilty and retired many dedicated public servants.

. . . by Mayor Pete Wilson of San Diego, commenting on the need for Republicans to press for political reform.

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State's economic situation:

Terrible in the timber towns, not very good in the cities, with little '75 relief in view

By BRUCE KEPPEL

If you haven't put in at least 15 years at the lumber mills of McCloud in Siskiyou County, you are likely to be unemployed. And that lost income is going to make the usual seasonal unemployment in the timber industry this winter just that much more severe.

On the other hand, if you own a motel in Los Angeles, the occupancy rate is probably holding up. And city-dwellers generally are worrying less about layoffs than about how to stretch paychecks that are growing less rapidly than inflation.

Statewide, more than eight percent of those looking for work in September and October were unable to find jobs. At the same time, the number of people working in the state set a record in September and carried it into October. But employment growth now seems to be slackening.

It is not a bright picture that the state's economists are painting as 1974 heads into history. And their cheeriest efforts do not offer a much brighter 1975. Unemployment is expected to stay above eight percent — and estimates range as high as 9.3 percent. So Red Murphy, business agent for the International Wood Workers of America's local in McCloud, looks around the town he was born in and comments: "These layoffs are the first I've ever seen." About one-third of his membership of 600 are out of work. "At first, it just looked like the young, single guys without much seniority would be hit," Murphy said, "but now you've got to have 15 years' seniority to keep a job around here." If you find someone working who has less time on the job than you do, you "bump" him. "Bumping" doesn't reduce unemployment, however.

Shades of '34

In sawmill towns like McCloud, the national debate over whether the 1974 slowdown constitutes a recession is purely academic. In rural Northern California, from Eureka-Arcata on the coast to the lumber towns dotting Shasta County to the east, 1974 might just as well be 1934.

And the reason can be found in the cities. As interest rates climbed during 1973 and 1974 to a high of 11.75 percent last summer, what investment capital that was available for home loans was too little and cost too much, and the market for new houses shrank rapidly. At the state Employment Development Department, a chart plotting interest rates and building starts shows the two lines parting company dramatically. Meanwhile, commercial and industrial construction, which had been carrying the building trades through much of the year, declined appreciably.

In the northern counties, this translated into a weaker demand for lumber, and as demand fell so did lumber prices. "We have a rock-bottom price we just can't sell below," said Robert R. Beckley, manager of the Publishers Forest Products Co. mill in Burney. "Lumber has already gone down almost to half what it was a year ago. This is a supply-and-demand market, and with demand so low — no homes being built — we just can't afford to sell our product at these prices. We're selling some, when we can get our price, but it's not enough to stay in production. When interest rates go down and builders go back to work, then the mills will start up again. Not until then."

Housing shortage?

Interest rates are now beginning to drop — with the prime down to as low as 10.25 percent in November, though that rate was not widespread last month. Even so, economists caution that it takes several months for the effect of any drop in interest rates to be felt at the consumer level, and even longer for that to be reflected in increased applications for mortgages, greater demand for homes and apartments, and more people shopping for the carpets and furniture to put in them. (The gamble is that by the time this spending spurt occurs next year, inflation will have eased to yield net gains in productivity.)

The private-sector economists who monitor the state's economic indicators forecast an increase in home construction starting in the spring. They base that outlook on the fact that the inventory of new houses is at a record low, posing the prospect of a housing shortage. And not just houses, either. The vacancy rate at apartments is also falling to record lows as families who normally would be putting a down-payment on a house are renting instead.

Until that shortage and lower interest rates combine to strengthen demand for new construction, however, the lumber industry will continue to be the state's sickest sector. And with it, the related industries — appliances, furniture and fixtures, stone, clay and glass, fabricated metals, electrical equipment (in short, all the categories in which the number of jobs in California has declined in the last year).

State leads U.S.

The fact that California's estimated unemployment

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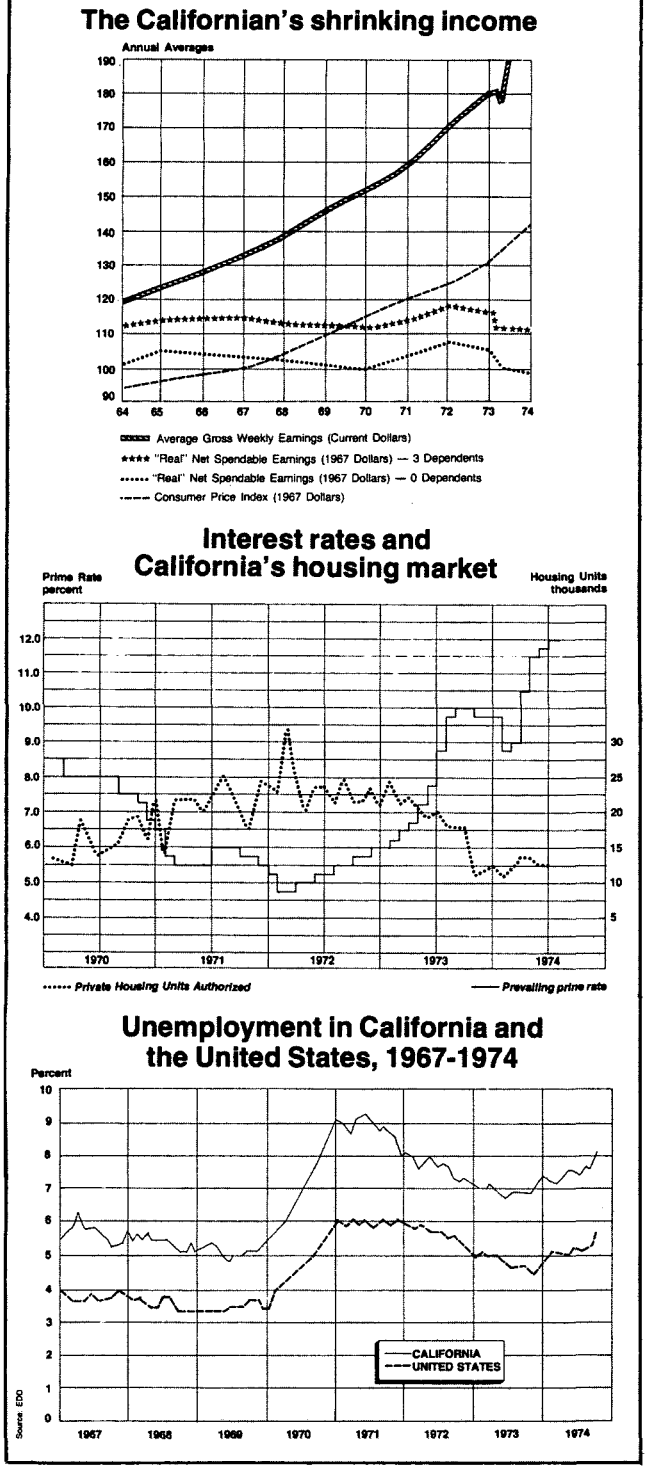

rate led the national rate reported last month (8.1 percent versus 6.0 percent) doesn't translate into an employment picture one-third bleaker than that of the nation generally. California's rate of unemployment generally and traditionally parallels the national rate. Historically, California as a growth state attracts labor and a higher proportion of its population participates in the work force. Finally, California's population includes a larger proportion of young people, females and minorities than the national average, and all of these categories are experiencing higher levels of unemployment than the average, according to the EDD.

In any case, unemployment figures primarily indicate trends,since there is no way to count potential workers who have given up looking for work.

The effects of unemployment have been mitigated in the state for some months by a continuing growth in the number of jobs. In September, the EDD was able to report that not only was unemployment running at its highest level in recent years — 8.2 percent — but the number of jobs set a record, 8,505,100 employed persons. That figure remained substantially the same in October, EDD reported (the actual decline of 51,000 job-holders was statistically not significant), but the arrival at a steady state may not augur well for the future.

"A clearer picture of the state's employment situation is gained by comparing October's figures with the same month a year ago," EDD reported in November. "Over the year, from October 1973, 98,800 new non-farm jobs were added, a growth rate of 1.3 percent. In the previous year, between October 1972 and 1973, 496,700 new jobs were added, for a growth rate of 6.8 percent. In all major industries, employment declined from October 1973 through October 1974."

Lingering employment growth moderated the economic impact in California, Security Pacific National Bank's analysts pointed out in their September bulletin. Consequently, the eventual rebound will likewise be somewhat less dramatic here than in some other, less economically diversified states.

Inflation's bite

Inflation, too, bites less sharply in California than elsewhere, but it's a significant and even painful bite nonetheless. In the cities, where inflation rather than unemployment is the chief nemesis, consumer prices average slightly more than 10 percent higher than a year ago; nationwide, the consumer price index rose 12.1 percent. Californians benefit from their closeness to the nation's suppliers of foodstuffs, mild weather and somewhat lower transportation and housing costs. Moreover, last month's coal strike will affect Californians less than other Americans since coal is a minor fuel here.

On the other hand, while Security Pacific in November forecast a likely record for gross farm income, it added that the increased cost of producing the bumper crops of 1974 will likely yield a decline in net farm income from 1973's level.

So inflation is taking its toll. To keep pace, a worker's paycheck would have had to increase by somewhat more than 10 percent in the last year. This has not been the case. And, even if it had, that would not have made up for the several years during which the federal government sought to ease inflation by holding down salaries to a maximum 5.5 percent annual increase.

As a result, while a Californian's real gross weekly earnings rose from $120 in 1964 to $180 in 1974, his or her real net spendable earnings held steady at $110. "That is the phenomenon of the middle-class worker's treadmill," observed one state government economist. And even worse erosion appeared in store last month as the wholesale price index rose by 2.3 percent in October, more than double the September increase, the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics reported.

'Pessimism prevails'

So as 1974 whimpers to a close, there is less and less good news to keep words like "recession" out of the mouths of federal forecasters. Those working in the private sector, on the other hand, tend to share the general public's far more gloomy outlook. "Among most economists now," Pacific Telephone's analysts observed in *Business Outlook,* "pessimism prevails, with the major differences of opinion being in the degree of pessimism." The report last month that gross national product had deteriorated in the third quarter more than estimated in October gave "recession" a new currency in

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Graysmith — San Francisco Chronicle

Washington as Congress reconvened to consider President Ford's economic program.

In California, where the economy has grown at a five percent clip over the last two decades, little or no growth is anticipated this year, once inflation's effect is subtracted. In general, the banks, utilities and governmental agencies that attempt to measure economic behavior are still looking for the bottom. Estimates of unemployment next year run generally higher than in 1974 and then only taper off. The consensus is an unemployment rate of 8.4 percent, though the UCLA Business Forecast projects unemployment at 9.3 percent.

While President Ford and his advisors continue to see value in eschewing pessimism and distributing exhortative WIN buttons, that attitude is not reflected by Californians. According to a California Poll taken in September, for example, only 28 percent of California families considered themselves financially better off than a year ago. And 43 percent considered themselves worse off. Pollster Mervin Field noted that 18 months earlier he had found 39 percent considering themselves better off and only 28 percent worse off.

Viewed nationally, the gloom thickens. A Gallup Poll last month noted that 51 percent of Americans now expect a depression such as that in the 1930s. And Californians, according to Field, have little confidence in the ability to control inflation; 63 percent described themselves as "not too confident" or "not at all confident" that "inflation can be kept within reasonable bounds."

In short, it will take more than whistling "Prosperity's Just Around the Corner" to make the economy round the corner, but no one seems to know just what. "If you put all the economists end to end," goes one quip, "you would still not reach a conclusion."

Meanwhile, up in Siskiyou County, the families of timber workers accustomed to the growing paychecks that reflected the state's longterm expansion are scrimping through the holiday season. Few are yet leaving in search of work elsewhere. "I don't know what I'll do," one unemployed mill worker told a Sacramento *Bee* reporter. "I can work in a mill or in the woods around here, and if I can't find work in either, I guess I'll have to move on. I'll probably go to Alaska . . . ."

Rather than watch the unemployment default on the loans contracted in palmier days, bankers are seeking to negotiate new arrangements, and it's not just a question of neighborly generosity, as one of them pointed out. "If their incomes have been cut in half," one Shasta County banker said, "maybe they can make it if we can rearrange their loans to cut their payments in half. If these layoffs last long, they could really hurt us."

Shifting voting patterns in California

The 1974 election statistics may reveal a significant change in the voting patterns of Californians. A comparison of the 1972 Nixon-McGovern presidential contest with the 1974 Brown-Flournoy gubernatorial returns shows that Southern California may be becoming more Democratic and Northern California more Republican — or more precisely, that the North may be getting less Democratic and the South less Republican.

Eugene C. Lee, director of the University of California Institute of Government Studies in Berkeley, has compiled these comparative figures indicating how the Democratic and Republican vote was distributed in the two elections:

Percent of statewide vote for each candidate

	McGovern	Brown	Nixon	Flournoy
Bay Area counties	28.5	25.9	21.9	22.5
Rest of north	18.6	18.9	17.3	19.6
North total:	47.1	44.8	39.2	42.1
Los Angeles County	34.2	33.5	33.7	30.1
7 other southern Counties	18.7	21.7	27.1	27.8
South total:	52.9	55.2	60.8	57.9

These figures tend to show a three-percent drop in Republican Southern strength and a roughly comparable gain in the North, but it is dangerous to draw comparisons between a presidential and a gubernatorial election and a Republican and a Democratic victory.

An examination of the semi-official canvass by the secretary of state's office shows that about 150,000 of the 6.3 million Californians who went to the polls did not vote for governor. Here are some vote totals:

Governor:	6,153,665
Lt. Governor:	5,971,572
U.S. Senator:	6,011,154
Proposition 17	5,466,489
Congress:	5,737,048
Assembly:	5,699,436

The following charts show that the Democratics won more congressional and legislative seats (65 percent of the congressional delegation, 85 percent of the state Senate seats and 69 percent of the Assembly seats) than they should have won based on the total number of votes cast for all candidates for each party:

Vote for Congress

Democrats	3,265,153	56.9%	(58.3% of two-party vote)
Republicans	2,334,870	40.7%	(41.7% of two-party vote)
AIP	101,041	1.8%	
P&F	35,984	0.6%	
Total	**5,737,048**		

Vote for Senate (half the state)

Democrats	1,748,569	61.9%	(63.3% of two-party vote)
Republicans	1,013,568	35.9%	(36.7% of two-party vote)
AIP	34,197	1.2%	
P&F	28,828	1.0%	
Total	**2,825,162**		

Vote for Assembly

Democrats	3,160,389	55.4%	(56.7% of two-party vote)
Republicans	2,416,001	42.4%	(43.3% of two party vote)
AIP	101,183	1.8%	
P&F	21,863	0.4%	
Total	**5,699,436**		

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Violence and vandalism-- another crisis for the schools

By SUZANNE PAIZIS

Consider these statistics:

- One hundred juveniles were tried for murder in Los Angeles in 1973.
- Incidents involving firearms tripled in Los Angeles School District.
- San Francisco and Los Angeles reported annual school property losses due to vandalism at $2 million each in 1972.

Alarming? Attorney General Evelle Younger and Superindentent of Public Instruction Wilson Riles thought so. In April, they jointly launched a state-wide campaign to end violence and crime in California schools. Their first step was to name a committee to study the prevention and management of conflict and crime in the schools, and to come up with recommendations next February. Its 25 members represent both schools and criminal-justice systems and include educators who belong to minority groups and organizations supporting minority-group interests.

A 1973 Riles task force that studied conflict in the schools laid the groundwork for the new committee. The task force reported that general crime in the schools was unmistakably increasing. While violence was found to exist to a lesser degree than anticipated, vandalism was the most widespread form of conflict in terms of frequency and expense. Theft, assaults on students, and incidents involving drugs and alcohol averaged more than one incident a month per school and constituted the most serious problem on campus. The task force also concluded that violence and disorder exist throughout the state (although most acutely in the inner city), that student activism on campus has subsided in recent years, and that school conflict is not associated with any single ethnic group of students.

The Riles group recommended increased community involvement in the schools, improved counseling, increased in-service training for school personnel, and such short-range responses to violence and vandalism as hiring guards, installing alarm and communications systems, and devising an "emergency action plan" for dealing with disruptions at the school level.

While the Department of Education was thus considering the problem of conflict from the educator's point of view, Attorney General Younger was preparing a publication, *Law in the School: A guide for California Teachers, Parents and Students*. The guide outlines the role of law enforcement and summarizes the most common campus criminal violations. It addresses itself to two theses: "The operation of criminal law does not stop at the schoolyard gate," and, "Neither students nor teachers shed their constitutional rights at the school-house gate." How schools will reconcile these two legal facts when school personnel are neither law-enforcement officers nor constitutional attorneys and for the most part reflect established culture, remains an open and difficult question.

Law in the School was praised at a conference of the Departments of Education and Justice last April by the superintendent of Vallejo City Unified School District, James Reusswig. "It is very beneficial to have compiled in one source document the tools to cope with misbehavior," Reusswig said. "It will be helpful if not used overzealously . . . ." He added, however, that the guide "does not address itself to the causes of misbehavior, to the needs of our children and youth, to the assistance these children and youth require when they do get into trouble."

Hiring guards

Members both of the task force and of the new committee agree on the need for security guards on campus. Where vandalism and assaults are frequent, uniformed guards are being hired. Many school officials who recognize the need for additional personnel to maintain order consider the presence on campus of a uniformed police officer to be harmful to normal educational activity. One answer has been to hire paraprofessionals (frequently parents) to supplement the school-security program and to relieve teachers of "policing" activities. (San Francisco schools were recently faced with a serious problem after 500 paraprofessional aides were not re-hired for lack of funds. One result was that cases of extortion, theft, assault and confrontations increased in both junior and senior high schools. Minor incidents tended to escalate rapidly, necessitating police action which, in turn, brought increased hostility from students and polarization in the community.)

Students' privacy

Members of the new committee expressed additional concern about problems in school record-keeping. They cited a need to improve the reporting of incidents around

The author, chairwoman of the Santa Cruz County Commission on the Status of Women, contributed "Women in politics – the frustrated majority," which appeared in the March 1974 issue.

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the state and to try to identify "crisis-prone" students while protecting the students' rights of privacy regarding their personal files. (Task-force findings indicated that students regard restrictions against their (or their parents') access to records as indicative of authoritarian and oppressive administrative procedures.)

Last summer, the Senate Select Committee on Children and Youth conducted hearings regarding the secret files of children. School officials and parents revealed a deep concern that students' cumulative records were frequently (and sometimes indiscriminately) available for perusal by many persons or agency representatives, but never by the student and his or her parents.

New federal legislation effective in November guarantees parents access to school records and prohibits their release to anyone else without parental consent. State legislation passed this year, SB 1845 (Stull), will require schools to permit parents to review all written material regarding a student's record and to request removal of material parents consider inaccurate.

Community councils

Some school districts report success as a result of establishing local interagency councils. Some examples:

San Diego City School District set up an Interagency Security Advisory Committee with representatives from schools, the city, and police, fire and safety departments; the transportation department is also involved because of the large number of incidents that occur between home and school. San Diego school officials called the 1973-74 school year the quietest in recent years.

Yerba Buena High School in San Jose reported not one case of school violence or vandalism in the last school year, which the district attributes in part to interagency cooperation at the school level.

Sunnyvale School District near San Jose set up a community School Program involving students and adults in an effort to increase the students' feelings of responsibility to school and community. One result was creation of a group called the "Un-Vandals", students who helped clean up and landscape seven schools. (A survey of 200 student members of the Un-Vandals turned up 73 percent who admitted to having participated in some form of vandalism.)

Another essential component in the successful model-school was found to be the school counselor. Greatly reducing counseling loads and training counselors to be expert at "crisis management" have proved effective. (The average case load of the high-school counselor is 450 students a year.) A Crisis Counseling Center was developed at San Jose's Yerba Buena High School to identify and work with "crisis-prone" students. The objectives are to reduce, through counseling, the number of disciplinary referrals against the student, create effective and supporting relationships between students, teachers, and family members, and reinforce this support with educational "prescriptions" that insure success.

An innovative program designed to alter the juvenile justice system is being initiated by one Los Angeles community. Since it was found possible for a juvenile to spend two or three years going through the present system without seeing the same supervisor twice, plans are being made to house all agencies dealing with juvenile offenders under one roof. Under this concept, law-enforcement agencies, probation departments and courts will coordinate their efforts and cooperate with schools to reduce "backsliding" among both first-time and repeat offenders. Community involvement includes an advisory committee comprising residents of the area. Initiators of the program hope that consistent, local contact with the juvenile offender and coordination and cooperation at the community level will reduce the growing incidence of crime.

'Living bombs'

At the September meeting of the Riles-Younger committee, a community-involvement approach began to take form. The California School Boards Association was asked to plan a state-wide effort to encourage local boards to convene community-wide meetings to discuss local action aimed at preventing and containing school-related crime, violence and vandalism. The emphasis will be on the interagency approach with county officials taking the lead. (The association kicked off the campaign at a meeting in Oakland November 22nd.) Said Charles Wood, president of the School Boards Association: "Socially adjusted adults continue to philosophize on containment of violence in meetings, while socially maladjusted individuals, young and old, wander around campuses, living bombs of violent behavior. The cause of violence and vandalism is simple — internally within a child or an adult is a need to harm people and things."

The committee members realize that large-scale plans

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are only as efficient and productive as the agencies, organizations and individuals in the local communities who carry them out. The aim, therefore, is for each local community to assess its own problems and initiate its own programs to prevent and manage conflict and crime in its schools.

Because similar problems exist throughout the state, the Departments of Education and Criminal Justice will identify and publicize model programs such as the Yerba Buena Crisis Counseling Center and provide consultation to local communities. Specific recommendations and a proposed structure will be announced when the committee completes its work next spring.

Violence has always been to some extent a part of American culture. It continues to dominate literature, films, theater, television and sports. Americans accept violence as entertainment and, apparently, find relief in viewing violent acts, whether simulated or actual. Frequent observation of aggressive and brutal acts tends, however, to insensitize the viewer to actual acts of violence and brutality; when these acts become commonplace, feelings of sorrow, sympathy or remorse tend to disappear.

One of the most persistent forms of learning for American children is through television. The U.S. Surgeon General's Advisory Committee on the Effect of Television found a relationship between television exposure to violence and aggressive behavior in children. A correlation of television violence and long-term behavioral effects was shown in a study in which boys who had had a moderate level of exposure to violence at age 8 were significantly more aggressive at age 18 than boys who had viewed little violence as children. The Presidents' Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence also indicted television violence in children's programs. And social scientists are beginning to articulate the link that may exist between aggressive sports and violence. Recent studies are tending to indicate serious causality

factors, though much more research will be required before this evidence can be accepted as conclusive.

If such studies are valid, it must be assumed that violence can be learned and that aggressive behavior is somehow rewarded in American culture — enough so that, for many young people, violence becomes acceptable behavior.

Males and violence

Society may also have to analyze more critically the manner in which it raises boys and girls. The fact that crimes of violence are almost always committed by males is incontestable. Incidents in which girls become involved are often "victimless" crimes. Girls are victims of violence far more often than they are perpetrators. The patterns of anti-social behavior must be defined on the basis of sex, and programs and solutions designed on that basis as well. None of the studies has yet addressed this factor.

Those faced with the problems of conflict and crime agree on two needs: Speed is essential in view of the rapidly rising rate of crime, and so is money. Crime is expensive, and its eradication costs even more. Californians may have to pay for both the results of crime — property damage, security costs and incarceration of youths — as well as the additional expense of lower pupil/teacher-counselor ratios, expanded and alternative programs, and community schools. There is no inexpensive or simple way out.

Edward B. Fort, Superintendent of Sacramento City Unified School District summed up the problem in his report to the committee in these terms: "I am thoroughly convinced that the key to a resolution of concerns related to violence on school campuses in California cannot be accomplished in the absence of massive infusions of funding. We can debate, review and meet until the cows come home, but it will be for naught unless the California Legislature sees fit to provide the schools of this state with the necessary monies."

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Heading for the inevitable one silly millimeter at a time

By SHIRLEY B. NEILL

Metric is coming to the United States — with the strong backing of big business and education but with neither congressional consensus nor legislative mandate. In California, the Legislature passed a resolution urging Congress to convert the United States to metric measurement, but it killed a bill that would have created a body to plan the state's conversion to metrics.

Yet, scattered but related events indicate that metrics is gaining a foothold in California. Just how firmly, however, is debatable. While Representative Alphonzo Bell of Los Angeles, the ranking minority member on the House subcommittee on science, research and development, bragged to his congressional colleagues that "California is leading the nation" in the march to metrics, his counterparts in Sacramento seemed to be marching to a different drummer.

Bell was referring to a decision by the California State Board of Education that all math and science textbooks must contain units on metrics by 1976. Subsequently, teachers in local school districts began introducing students in elementary grades to meters, liters and grams. Textbook publishers and producers of instructional materials began offering everything from metersticks, metric calculators and conversion charts to supplementary booklets and home-economics supplies. And the state Department of Education set up a Math Task Force to devise a plan for teaching metrics. (Educators have yet to resolve such basic differences as spelling. While international usage dictates "re" — for example, metre — common American usage has always been "er" — meter and liter. Each state will have to decide which spelling to adopt before making large investments in textbooks.)

Business interest

The key to conversion is held, however, by the business community — mainly big business. And big business' support boils down to one word, money. Many firms have converted to metrics already — among them, IBM, General Motors, Rockwell International, Hewlett-Packard, Caterpillar, International Harvester, Xerox, General Electric and Ford. The pharmaceutical industry converted about 15 years ago. And, perhaps unknowingly, consumers have been somewhat "metrified" for a long time. Film is sold by width in millimeters, skis by length in centimeters, and anyone who smokes, uses microfilm, or works in telecommunications, electronics, space technology, medicine, and some sectors of the food or clothing industries has already been introduced to the simplified if otherwise unfamiliar system of measurement.

The main concern of business is not how the American consumer fares, however, but how well American goods compete abroad. Metric conversion will provide a "substantially improved" position for American products in international trade, Bell told House colleagues in testifying on behalf of the Metric Conversion Act. Until the United States does convert, it will be the only major country not on the metric system. Nonetheless, the House rejected the Metric Conversion Act on May 7, 1974. The California Legislature followed suit in August when the Senate Finance Committee laid to rest the last surviving proposal to create a state metric conversion council.

Legislative failure

With defeat of the House bill, metric conversion is once again pursuing an uneven and unplanned course charted mainly by business interests. The same situation is foreseeable in California, where four bills by Assemblyman W. Don MacGillivray of Santa Barbara went by the wayside in 1974. The most important — and last — of the California bills would have created the conversion council with both regulatory and advisory functions and a budget of $30,000 to $40,000 a year. By the time the bill reached the Senate Finance Committee, even this modest cost had been cut to $3,000. The committee eventually voted 5 to 4 to reject the measure on the basis that creation of the council by California would preempt a federal responsibility. Those who favored the bill, on the other hand, argued that it would have allowed the proposed council to survey what is being done in California and come up with a plan for conversion *if and when* national legislation passes.

Despite the legislative failure, the state Department of Commerce is drafting its own plan for conversion to metrics, according to Director John Geoghegan. "We intend to move, although not in as forceful a manner as the state or national legislation would have mandated," he said. The department's plan will be drawn up by its Council of Product Design and Marketing. In doing so, Geoghegan is following the lead of the federal Department of Commerce, which is strongly pro-metric. And the motive is basically the same — to make manufactured goods more competitive at home and abroad. If California gets the jump on metric standards, so runs the department's logic, California products will benefit.

Agency opposition

MacGillivray dropped two other metric bills after they ran into opposition from state agencies. One, opposed by the Department of Motor Vehicles, would have required a change in drivers' licenses and identification cards, with a driver's height and weight printed in both traditional and metric terms, and eventually only in the latter. A bill to require state highway signs to show distance in both miles and kilometers was opposed by the Department of

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Transportation. The last of MacGillivray's bills would have authorized $250,000 for the Department of Education to administer a program to train teachers in the metric system. The department's task force, which was set up about three years ago to help get metric conversion off the ground, is rounding out its last year by training key teachers who are, in turn, to train other teachers in their home and neighboring districts; about 2,000 key teachers will be trained by summer. Whether or not all the state's teachers are trained by 1976, they will have to contend with the metric-oriented textbooks mandated by the state Board of Education.

School districts also will have to wrestle with the problem of providing instruction in both measurement systems over the next decade. The Department of Education prefers teaching only metrics, but one district that tried that approach found after one year that parents wanted their children to learn both systems. The district is now teaching both systems.

With the phasing-out of the department's task force, school districts will have to rely on themselves to devise effective teaching materials. The task force has completed a guide to teaching metrics, however, and it will be made available to all school districts. The department also has contracted with *Peanuts* creator Charles Schulz to produce a $60,000 animated film on metrics as seen through the eyes of good ol' Charlie Brown.

Meanwhile, one state agency has already converted to metric measurements. Not surprisingly, it is the Geothermal Unit of the state Division of Gas and Oil. Other branches are expressing interest. C.H. Beardsley, manager of the Division of Measurement Standards in the California Department of Food and Agriculture, said the state should assume leadership if necessary. "The rest of the nation looks to California for weights and measures standards," Beardsley said. The division he heads works with some 500 persons at both state and county levels who are charged with enforcing laws of weights and measures. County sealers were all trained in metrics over the last year, he noted.

The California Chamber of Commerce is hedging its support of metrics, maintaining that conversion must be gradual and coordinated with national legislation. The California Almond Growers Exchange, on the other hand, is moving ahead now, and it may be alone. As the biggest processor of the state's almond crop, the Exchange has been marking its containers in both English and metric measurements for two years as new supplies of labels were needed. The Exchange also was influenced in its decision by the fact that half of the almonds it packs go to overseas markets. Once metric legislation passes, the Exchange would phase out use of ounces in favor of grams.

Training personnel to work with new measurements is apparently less a problem than living with the confused consumers through the transition. Stan Johnson, executive director of the Bay Area Grocers Association, for example, expects grocers to get a lot of complaints, though they should be used to that, he added. ("Just put peanut butter in a different place on the shelf, and customers complain.")

Such problems are minimal compared with others to be faced. Educators have a major job of teaching to do. That load will likely be lightened by the fact that metrics will simplify teaching some computations. The reason: All calculations are in powers of 10 (similar to our monetary system), and units are related to one another whether they refer to length (meter), mass (kilogram), time (second), electric current (ampere), temperature (kelvin, defined in degrees Celsius, not centigrade), substance (mole), or light intensity (candela). Students and adults will need to learn three basic units (meter, liter, gram) and eight prefixes (such as *milli*meter, *centi*meter, *kilo*meter).

Students supposedly will spend less time learning "common" or "vulgar" fractions, although a knowledge of these will still be needed as groundwork for algebra (not to mention dividing pies and cakes). But conversion has the support of the National Council of Teachers of Mathematics, their colleagues in science, and the two large teacher organizations, the National Education Association and the American Federation of Teachers.

In addition to the simplicity of the metric system, educators also say they would be remiss in meeting students needs for the future — a future measured in kilometers, meters, centimeters and millimeters. That realization has dawned on educators across the country. As of August 1974, six state legislatures had enacted laws directing action in education, and 13 state school boards had adopted "go metric" resolutions. Many other states are quietly training teachers, conducting their own investigations into the costs of conversion and preparing to convert all elements of school life to metrics. Representatives from 26 states and territories that require statewide adoption of textbooks joined California in early October in establishing guidelines for publishers of metric materials and teacher-training programs. They set 1980 as the target date for completing transition to metrics.

The outlook

At the national level, some predict passage of metric legislation by Congress in 1975. But there are objections by small businesses and labor unions yet to be resolved, and the cost of conversion is sure to be high — an important consideration in light of the gloomy economic picture. Still, the National Bureau of Standards maintains that a coordinated program will cost considerably less than the current drift into metrics. In California, the amount of coordination needed to "go metric" is substantial and, if unplanned, could be overwhelming.

Conversion to metrics is more complex than one might at first imagine. But one thing is certain: The job is not being simplified by dragging our feet — not to mention our inches, ounces and pints.

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California *NEWSBRIEFS*

Republican bickering enlivens campaign for Harmer's Senate seat

The campaign to fill the state Senate seat vacated by John Harmer on Accepting Governor Ronald Reagan's appointment to succeed Ed Reinecke as lieutenant governor has two Republican hopefuls behaving more like Democrats in primaries. Assemblyman Newton Russell entered the 21st Senate District race after having narrowly lost a reapportionment-caused face-off with fellow Republican Mike Antonovich last June in the 41st Assembly District. And he entered with the party's blessing.

Then, Los Angeles Councilman Arthur K. Snyder decided to run as a Republican. He did so, he said, despite pressure from some party leaders not to. Snyder quoted Richard Gulbranson, chairman of the party's county central committee, as saying that it was "all arranged" for Russell.

For his part, Russell announced that he would not collect the $1,600 December payment of his Assembly salary; he is one of 24 lawmakers elected to terms ending December 31st but who, because of the change to a two-year legislative calendar that begins December 2nd, cannot perform official duties that month.

The election December 10th has drawn a third Republican entry, John L. Sullivan, a South Pasadena councilman. The Democrats have three contenders: John G. Triphon, a Glendale business consultant; Kent L. Vallette, a Glendale attorney; and Alice Zuber of Saugus. A run-off will be held January 7th if no candidate wins a majority in December.

Three initiatives seek place on June 1976 ballot

With November's election less than a month in the past, the secretary of state's office announced that initiative petitions were being circulated on behalf of three measures seeking a place in the June 1976 primary election: a nuclear power plants initiative, setting limits on constructing new plants and operating existing plants; an off-track horse-race wagering initiative, allowing pari-mutuel betting at other outlets than race tracks and permitting casino gambling in Adelanto, San Bernardino County; and a measure to eliminate personal property from taxation.

Proponents have until March 27, 1974, to obtain the necessary 520,806 signatures to qualify each of the proposals.

Board of Education studies new system for financing schools

A plan to pay for public education in California through a statewide property tax and $1.4 billion in state general-fund money was submitted to the state Board of Education last month. An overhaul of the present system of financing primary and secondary education is high on the legislative priority list, since the California Supreme Court ruled in *Serrano* v. *Priest* that the use of local property taxes violates the state Constitution by producing unequal educational opportunities.

State colleges mark end of growth, as enrollment steadies

A barely perceptible increase in the enrollment of full-time students was marked in the 19-campus California State University and Colleges this fall. The Full-time Equivalent Enrollment was 223.869, a 0.3 percent rise. (This latter figure, a basis for funding, is derived by dividing the total number of academic credits taken by students by the normal full-time load of 15.)

California *NEWSMAKERS*

GeoTek oil-drilling promoter **John P. (Jack) Burke** pleaded guilty to a charge of filing a false statement with the federal Securities and Exchange Commission. Burke and GeoTek became a major issue in the race for attorney general this year, with Democrat **William Norris** claiming that Attorney General **Evelle J. Younger** had received a no-risk loan from Burke.

Lieutenant Governor **John L. Harmer**, defeated in a bid for a four-year term, is the first announced candidate for vice chairman of the California Republican Party. The vice-chairman normally moves up to the chairmanship in the succeeding year, which in this case would be the presidential election year of 1976. Among those also mentioned for the job are Assemblyman-elect **Bruce Nestande** of Orange County, Dr. **Tirso Del Junco** and **Rosemary Ferraro.** Harmer, a conservative, is likely to be opposed by moderates within the party . . . . The People's Lobby announced its intention to sue former Assembly Speaker **Bob Moretti** for campaign-reporting violations in the June gubernatorial primary. Moretti branded the charges "false and malicious".

Senator **Milton Marks** of San Francisco and Assemblyman **Paul Bannai** of Gardena were reported as the Legislature's most prolific authors of laudatory and memorial resolutions, Marks with 130 and Bannai with 148. . . . Assemblyman **Dan Boatwright** of Concord was named chairman of the Assembly Revenue and Taxation Committee. He replaces **Joe Gonsalves** of Cerritos, who was defeated in a run for reelection. . . . The California State Employees Association reelected **John P. Matheny**, a 47-year-old Department of Transportation lawyer, as head of the 107,000-member organization.

The California Commission on Judicial Appointments unanimously confirmed Governor Reagan's appointment of Appeals Court Justice **Frank R. Richardson** of Sacramento to the state Supreme Court. Richardson succeeded Justice **Louis Burke**, who retired. . . . Governor **Ronald Reagan** said he was "very pleased" with the official portrait of the state's 33rd governor painted by artist **Robert Rishell** of Oakland.

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Significant court actions

Holiday cheer

There may be relatively few office Christmas parties in California this year.

The state Supreme Court ruled unanimously that an employer who sponsors or permits office parties is responsible for injuries to employees resulting from intoxication. The opinion authored by Justice Mathew Tobriner in *McCarty* v. *WCAB* maintains that the owners of a company authorizing and encouraging after-work parties apparently benefit from these gatherings and thus employees participating in holiday cheer are functioning within the scope of employment.

On December 23, 1971, Daniel McCarty started to imbibe at the plumbing firm where he worked. He went home for an hour to get more whiskey and money for a poker game. At 9 p.m. he was visibly drunk but refused to let anyone take him home. He was killed when the car he was driving struck a railroad signal pole. Tobriner said that McCarty had reentered the scope of employment when he returned home from his brief errand. The court found that the Workmen's Compensation Appeals Board erred when it refused to grant death benefits to McCarty's widow.

The overtaxed class

About 500,000 Californians who purchased automobiles between August 15 and December 11, 1971, may get partial refunds of the sales taxes paid on the vehicles. In a 5-2 decision, the Supreme Court ruled that a class-action suit may be filed to force California retailers of new cars to collect refunds totaling about $10 million from the state Board of Equalization on behalf of their customers.

The case of *Javor* v. *State Board of Equalization* is based on the fact that the federal government repealed the manufacturer's excise tax on December 11, 1971, retroactive to August 15th. In the interim, Californians paid sales taxes on the excise tax (which was subsequently refunded under terms of the repeal legislation). As a result, Californians paid more sales tax than they should have during that period. George Javor is seeking refunds of the excess tax paid at the rate of 5 percent in most of the state and 5.5 percent in three Bay Area counties.

Justice Raymond Sullivan, writing the majority opinion, called this a proper situation for a class-action suit, explaining that all 500,000 purchasers are in the same legal and factual situation and that it might not be feasible for individual lawsuits to be filed because the amounts involved would not be great enough. In dissent, Justices William P. Clark and Marshall McComb said the Legislature passed a measure establishing procedures for sales-tax refunds and that this special remedy did not include direct action by retail customers.

Prisoner or not?

Is an individual illegally incarcerated in a county jail a prisoner or an improperly imprisoned citizen? In a 4-3 ruling, the Supreme Court found that Jack Sullivan, improperly held in Los Angeles County jail 12 days beyond the end of his 50-day drunk-driving sentence, could bring a false-imprisonment suit against the county.

In *Sullivan* v. *County of Los Angeles*, the key issue was whether the county was immune to liability because it is protected against lawsuits for injuries to prisoners. Tobriner, writing for the majority, found that false imprisonment is not an injury to a prisoner but instead to a non-prisoner. Justice Louis Burke, author of the dissent, emphasized that a prisoner is by law an inmate of a jail and remains one despite a claim of illegal confinement. Burke was joined by Clark and McComb.

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exceeded nine per cent. In contrast, four House Judiciary Committee members who had been loudly associated with the hard-line Nixon defense were not able to escape the tides of Watergate. The early GOP defectors on the committee won reelection easily.

The Watergate tides are not likely to be running in 1976, but they have eroded some fundamental beachheads of the Republican Party. Since the depression, the GOP never has been considered by the voters as the party most capable of dealing with economic issues, but many voters have regarded it as the party of integrity. That is now gone. "People in the South were just beginning to think of Republicans as not having two heads," said a GOP official and Reagan supporter disconsolately after the election. "Now we're back to where we started." The election hurled the GOP in the South down to its 1952 levels, costing the party nine House members. The Southern strategy which carried Nixon to power is now gone with the wind.

The Republican losses in every section of the country come against a backdrop of steady decline in Republican allegiance. Gallup's polls on voter self-identification show that the proportion of Americans who consider themselves Republicans has been decreasing in a slow, steady line ever since 1940. Only 23 per cent of Americans now regard themselves as Republicans compared to 33 percent who say they are independents and 44 per cent who call themselves Democrats. Surely this is skirting the thin edge of party survival.

* * *

There are legitimate political differences on the course the Republican Party should follow to rescue itself from its present malaise, and Ronald Reagan, for one, thinks that the party must stand more clearly for the old values of limited government and individual initiative instead of blurring its differences with the Democrats. Men like Senator Charles Percy think the party should repudiate the Southern strategy once and for all and reach out to the minorities and the working men and women who now go Democratic almost by default. Others, remembering that it is the purpose of a political party to win elections, believe that the GOP must be broad enough in its principles to accommodate both the Reagans and the Percys.

All of these views have something to recommend them; each is preferable to the Mary Poppins view at the White House that everything will turn out for the best. For if it is unclear what the Republicans should do about their predicament, it should at least be clear to the party's highest office-holder how little he has left. The starting point for the salvage operation ought to be the recognition that the ship indeed went down.

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A WASHINGTON PERSPECTIVE...

By Lou Cannon

Feeding on myths

There is a joke making the rounds of Republicans these days that belies the bright face that President Ford and his departing political adviser, Dean Burch, have attempted to put on the election returns. As they tell it at the Republican National Committee, there soon will be a new name for the Republican Governors Association. Now it will be called the "Republican Governor Association."

This gallows humor does not go down particularly well at the usually good-natured Ford White House, where Burch is fond of advancing his Thesis of the Short-Lived Landslide. His prime example is Harry Truman, the man to whom Ford most likes to compare himself. Truman won election in 1948 after the Democrats lost 12 Senate seats and 55 House seats in 1946. Burch also looks backward in anticipation at what happened after the 1964 GOP debacle, when Burch was national chairman. The Republicans recovered from the Barry Goldwater presidential candidacy to gain ground and governorships in 1966 and win the presidency in 1968. Seen through Burch's deep rose-colored glasses, the Democratic victories of 1974 were predictable phenomena that reflected the historic pattern of off-year elections and the slumping economy. Watergate he puts somewhere in the background. The wipe-out in the governorships and the state legislatures seems not to touch him at all. "The White House is the glue that holds everything together and we've got it," says Burch. The Democrats will cut each other to pieces again, and happy days will be here once more for the Republicans in 1976.

* * *

It probably is being inhumane to an endangered species to suggest that this hogwash now being fed to the declining faithful is even less nourishing than the thin-sliced baloney that Burch and Republican National Chairman George Bush served up for a year before the election. When more than three-quarters of the American people knew otherwise, Bush and Burch kept insisting that Richard Nixon was innocent of the Watergate cover-up while simultaneously declaring that Republicans would not be punished for the sins of the White House. As the evidence mounted in the House Judiciary Committee and Republicans lost special elections in supposedly safe congressional districts, Bush and Burch shifted to dire warnings about the so-called veto-proof Congress, a figment of the imagination they shared with George Meany. Now that the two-thirds Democratic Congress has arrived, President Ford and Burch (Bush is our envoy to Peking and glad to be there) are the first to tell us that it is anything but veto-proof. Why, if that is the case, was the White House so all-fired worried in the first place? But we get no answers to that question. Yesterday's political truths belong to yesterday.

What is disturbing about all this for those of us who think well enough of the two-party system to wish the Republicans a comeback they probably don't deserve is that the party appears to have suffered everything and learned nothing from its defeat. A party that feeds itself on myths ultimately starves to death, and the Burch mythology about the 1974 elections is too dangerously astray from reality to offer any sustenance for a comeback.

* * *

Let us begin with the statistics. Despite all this "normal off-year election" business, there was nothing normal about the Republican congressional losses in 1974. It is true enough that the party in power in the White House frequently loses 40 or more seats in the mid-term election. But most of these losses usually are marginal congressmen who have been carried in on the coattails of a landslide winner. Nixon won by the greatest of landslides in 1972 but he possessed the shortest of coattails, and the GOP gained only 11 House seats. The 43 House losses this time came from the muscle of the party, not from its fat.

Then there is the question of the declining Republican power base — the source of the sad joke about the "Republican Governor Association". Even after 1964, Republicans held on to such key governorships as New York, Pennsylvania and Massachusetts, all of them now in Democratic hands. They won California with Ronald Reagan in 1966, an opportunity they won't have two years from now. While it matters somewhat less in low-patronage California, the governorships form the base of party power in the big Eastern states. They are the founts of patronage and, almost everywhere, the dispensers of state revenue-sharing funds. Without this base — and the GOP is now down to 12 governorships overall and only two among the 10 largest states — the task of party rebuilding will be far harder than it was a decade ago.

Finally, there is the over-weighted economic analysis of the election. It is true that such reputable pollsters as George Gallup and Mervin Field have long found the economy and inflation to be the No. 1 issue with the homefolks, but it is superficial to conclude from this that it was economic issues that decided the election. For one thing, most of the candidates on both sides said similar things about the economy and, for another, as several surveys have shown, the voters question whether any individual gubernatorial or congressional candidate can do much about inflation.

But the Republicans are no longer believable as a party on any issue — and they have Watergate and their failure to disassociate from Richard Nixon to thank for it. There are numerous suggestions in the 1974 returns that the economy was an issue that marginal Republicans could overcome while Watergate and its attendant aftermath was not. The big Republican winners in the Senate, almost without exception, were the progressives who had disassociated themselves early and often on the Watergate issue. The best example of the economy as a surmountable issue is Michigan, where Republican Governor William G. Milliken has made integrity the hallmark of his administration. He did something no Republican was supposed to be able to do in Michigan by winning reelection in a state when recession-bred unemployment

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— Will Rogers

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